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GENERAL GEORGE THOMAS.  
*Obit. August 1802 (Nat. 46)*

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MILITARY

MEMOIRS

OF

MR. GEORGE THOMAS;

WHO,

*By extraordinary Talents and Enterprize,*

ROSE FROM AN OBSCURE SITUATION TO THE RANK OF

A GENERAL,

IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATIVE POWERS

IN THE

NORTH-WEST OF INDIA.

THROUGH THE WORK ARE INTERSPERSED,  
Geographical and Statistifical Accounts of several of the States composing  
the Interior of the Peninsula, especially the Countries of Jypoor,  
Joudpoor, and Oudipoor, by Geographers denominated Rajpootaneh,  
the Seiks of Punjaub, the Territory of Beykaneer, and the Country  
adjoining the Great Defart to the westward of Hurrianeh.

COMPILED AND ARRANGED FROM  
MR. THOMAS'S ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

BY WILLIAM FRANCKLIN,

CAPTAIN OF INFANTRY;

Member of the Asiatic Society, Author of a Tour to Persia, and  
of the History of Shah Aulum.

— MORES, POPULOS, ET PRÆLIA DICAM.

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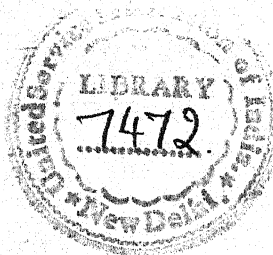
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T. GILLET, Printer, Salisbury Square.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Publisher having been favoured by a friend with a copy of the following interesting Biography, which was printed at Calcutta, conceives that it could not but be acceptable to this country, which is so materially interested in whatever is connected with its vast possessions in India.

As it is a work which will probably excite a very general interest, he has thought it most advisable to print it in octavo, whereby it could be afforded at considerably less than half the price of the quarto original.

LONDON,  
20th Sept. 1805.

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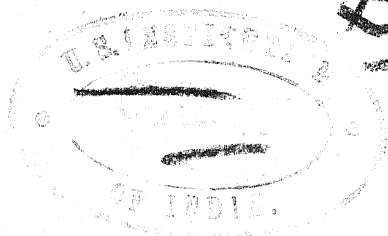
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MEMOIRS  
OF  
GEORGE THOMAS.

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CHAPTER I.

*Introduction.—Mr. Thomas enters into the  
service of Appakandarow,—Repairs to Delhi.  
—Account of the environs of that city.*

IN the enlightened period of the nineteenth century, when the world abounds in characters, as distinguished for their abilities, in every branch of scientific and useful knowledge, as eminent for their courage and other personal qualifications, it may afford matter for surprise, that an obscure individual should merit the attention of the community. Yet, when it is considered that the singularity of

character, exhibited in the subject of the present memoirs, is rendered still more interesting by his adventures, his talents, his successes, and his misfortunes, detailed in the following sheets, it may not only form the best apology for the compiler in submitting these memoirs to the public view, but also afford some useful instruction to the reader.

From the best information we could procure, it appears that Mr. George Thomas first came to India in a British ship of war, in 1781-2. His situation in the fleet was humble, having served as a quarter master, or, as is affirmed by some, in the capacity of a common sailor.

Shortly after landing in the vicinity of Madras, the activity of his mind, overcoming the lowliness of his situation, he determined to quit the ship, and embrace a life more suitable to his ardent disposition.

His first service was among the Polygars to the southward, where he resided a few years. But at length setting out over-land, he spirit-

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edly traversed the central part of the Peninsula, and about the year 1787 arrived at Delhi. Here he received a commission in the service of the Begum Sumroo. This lady is well known in the history of the transactions of modern times. Soon after his arrival at Delhi, the Begum, with her usual judgment and discrimination of character, advanced him to a command in her army. From this period his military career in the north-west of India may be said to have commenced.

In various and successive actions against the Seiks, and others of the Begum's enemies, Mr. Thomas, by his courage and perseverance, rendered her authority respectable. By these successes, he obtained a considerable influence over the mind of his mistress, and was for some time her chief adviser and counsellor.\*

\* Among other brilliant acts, performed by Mr. Thomas, during his service with the Begum, was the circumstance related in the History of Shah Aulum. The Compiler of these Memoirs did not know, at the time, that Mr. Thomas was the officer who commanded the party. But that gentleman, during his residence at Benares, communi-

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But, unfortunately for the mutual interests of both parties, after a residence of six or seven years, Mr. Thomas had the mortification to find himself supplanted in the good opinion of the Begum. His authority was assumed by a more successful rival.

This conduct in the Begum, exciting much animosity and many heart-burnings between the two rival commanders, Mr. Thomas resolved to embark his fortunes on a different service. He therefore quitted the Begum Sumroo, and about 1792 betook himself to the frontier station of the British army, at the post of Anopshire.

Here he waited several months, in the expectation of receiving overtures for employment from some of the native powers. He was not deceived in these expectations. In the beginning of the year 1793, Mr. Thomas, being at Anopshire, received letters from Ap-

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cated a detail of the affair, which, with a slight variation in a few particulars, happened as is stated in the printed work. See the History of Shah Aulum, page 167, et seq.

pakandarow, a Mahratta chief, conveying offers of service, and promises of a comfortable provision.

To comprehend the nature and use of Mr. Thomas's services at that juncture, it will be necessary to recur to the previous situation and prospects of Appakandarow.

This chief had formerly been himself in the service of Madhajee Scindiah, who gave him the command of two battalions of infantry, raised and disciplined by the celebrated General Duboigne. In return for Appakandarow's services, Scindiah had also, subsequently, entrusted to his management the districts of Gualier and Gohud. These, for some time, he conducted with success: but having, in the year 1790, invaded Bundelcund, and being unsuccessful in his operations, he was compelled to contract debts to a considerable amount. This irregular and improvident conduct occasioned, first, his removal from command, and afterwards, his dismissal from Scindiah's employ. Of a haughty and impatient spirit, Appakandarow ill brooked this

humiliation, and from that time fought, by his own exertion, to establish an independency. It was at this period he was joined by Mr. Thomas, who had with him 250 cavalry, chosen men, and of tried valour on several occasions.

This accession of force was highly acceptable to the Mahratta chief; he was, at that time, unable to keep under subjection several districts, which, on account of his ill success, had rebelled against his authority, and withheld the payment of their accustomed tribute.

Mr. Thomas was now directed by Appakandarow to raise a battalion consisting of 1000 men and 100 cavalry. For the maintenance of this force, he assigned to him the pergunnas of Thajara, Thopookara, and Ferroepeor. They are all in the Mawatty district, situated to the south-west of Delhi. Those districts had, some years preceding, been in a state of rebellion, nor was Appakandarow able to reduce them to submission. The inhabitants, when a large force was sent against them, usually took shelter in the mountains;

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but when the force was inferior in numbers, by uniting, they proved victorious. With cavalry, likewise, they committed depredations in every direction. These excesses naturally rendered the Mahratta chief anxious of transferring the districts to any person who would exert himself to prevent their plundering the industrious peasants. Mr. Thomas's agreement with Appakandarow was, that he should balance accounts every six months. These terms having been agreed on, as an assurance of confidence, he presented Mr. Thomas with two guns, some ammunition, and a few bullocks.

The necessary arrangements having been made, Mr. Thomas prepared to march, and take possession of the lands aforementioned. He was however stopped by accounts, dispatched by Mr. Perron, announcing the death of Scindiah.

The march thus postponed, Appakandarow repaired to Delhi to guard against an apprehended commotion in that capital. On their arrival at court, Appakandarow, and other

chiefs, among whom was Mr. Thomas, were honoured with Khilluts, similar presents were likewise given for Dowlut Row Scindiah, who had now succeeded to the possessions of his deceased uncle.

The mention of Delhi affords an opportunity of presenting the reader with an account of some remarkable buildings, which stand without the precincts of the new city, and have hitherto escaped the observation of travellers. They were obtained by the compiler of these Memoirs during a visit to this celebrated city, in 1793.

We come next to the tomb of Humaioon, the son of Baber, second of the imperial House of Timoor, and memorable for a chequered life of alternate prosperity and misfortune.— He died Anno Hejirah 963, and the mausoleum was erected by his son, the famous Akbar, on the western bank of the Jumna, in the city of old Delhi.

The building is situated in the centre of an



ample terrace, of red stone, two thousand feet in circumference.

Upon this terrace rises the mausoleum of solid red stone. It is of a circular form, surmounted by a stupendous dome of white marble. Conspicuous from its dimensions, this dome is seen at a great distance. Four minarets, of red and white marble, support the extremities of the building. These are crowned with octagon pavilions of red stone, having marble cupolas. I judge the height to be about a hundred and twenty feet. A winding stair-case, of red stone, leads to a terrace, which encircles the exterior of the dome; hence you have a noble prospect, both of the old and new Delhi.

The principal room below, is paved with large slabs of white marble. It contains the sepulchre of Humaioon, of the common size, but elegantly decorated with chisel work: it bears no inscription. Adjoining to this room, are other apartments, in which are interred several princesses of the House of Timoor.

Upon the terrace aforementioned are the graves of five princes of the royal family, viz, Darah Shekoah, who was put to death by order of his brother Aurungzebe. 2d. Mooizaddeen or, Jehandar. 3d. Shah Furrukseir, put to death by the Seyuds. 4th. Beedar Bukht. 5th. Azim Shah, son of Aurungzebe. Near them is the grave of the late Emperor, the second Aulumgeer.

About two hundred yards from the mausoleum of Humaioon, is that of the famous Khan Khanan, prime minister of Jehangeer, and son of the renowned Byram Khan, memorable for contributing, in so great a degree, during the successive reigns of Humaioon, Akbar, and Jehangeer, to establish the House of Timoor on the throne of Hindostan. The tomb resembles, both in shape and size, that of the Nawaub Sufdar Jung. The fine marble covering however of the dome, as well as the inlayings of the minarets, and the gateways, have been dilapidated.

The generous mind cannot without indignation perceive the ravages which the disse-

rent invaders of Hindostan have perpetrated upon these magnificent remains of departed grandeur. But what shall we say of those now living\* who, for the paltry consideration of a few thousand rupees, strip the venerable shrines of the servants of their departed ancestors, and, by robbing the dead of what gratitude or affection had bestowed as a parting testimony, acquire thereby a partial, and disgraceful opulence?

A mile to the southward of the new city are the remains of the fort, palace, and mosque of the Patan emperor, the first Feroze. These ruins embrace a considerable extent. The walls of the fort are of immense thickness, and the prodigious quantity of granite, with other stones, spread in heaps over the whole of the interior of the inclosure, denote it to have been a grand and splendid edifice.

This fort was built Anno Hejirah 755, and was destroyed by the Mogul conqueror Timoor,

\* To every one at Delhi, it is notorious that a Prince of the House of Timoor now living, has actually sold the marble of this tomb, for twenty five thousand rupees.

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in his invasion of Hindostan. Toward the centre of the place is a building of an ancient style, flanked with round pillars, and crowned with turrets of three stories. At the top of this building, on an ample terrace of stone, about forty feet in height, is a column of brown granite. On this column is an inscription, in the ancient character beforementioned, as discernible on the pillar in the fort of Allahabad, and composed of the same materials. This pillar is called, by the natives, *Feroze Cotelah*, the staff of Feroze, and from the construction of the building on which it is placed, I should conjecture it has been a monument of Hindoo grandeur, prior to the irruptions of the Mussulmans. Adjoining to the cotelah, is a very large building differing in the style of its architecture from those mosques built subsequent to the establishment of the Moguls. This mosque is square, has four extensive aisles or cloisters, the roofs of which are stone, and supported by two hundred and fifty columns of stone, about sixteen feet high. The length of the cloisters gives a grand appearance to the building. An octangular dome, of stone and brick work, about twenty-five feet high,

rises from the centre of the mosque. In the western cloister is a kibra, or niche, in the wall, in the direction of Mecca. Of this mosque the emperor Timoor took a model, and carrying it with him on his return to Samarcand his capital, accompanied at the same time by artificers and workmen of every description, he shortly after his arrival built a magnificent temple.

In the northern aisle of this mosque, at the upper end, is a small window, from which was thrown the body of the late emperor the second Allumgeer, who had been assassinated at the instigation of his vizier Gaziodeen Khan. The assassins were two Mahomedan devotees, whom he had visited under the pretext of their working miracles. The body of this unfortunate prince, unburied, for two days lay on the sands of the Jumna. At last it was taken up by permission of Gaziodeen, and interred in the sepulchre of Humaioon. To me it appears that the style of building in this mosque, refers to a period in the architecture of Hindostan prior to the Mogul conquests. The mosque at Paniput, erected by the emperor Baber, may be

looked upon as the model of all the succeeding Mogul buildings.

### COÖTTUB MINAR.<sup>A</sup>

Nine miles south of Delhi is the celebrated column, designated Coottub Minar, situated near, and deriving that name from the tomb of Khaja Cuttubadeen. His disciple, Shemsadeen, of the family of Ghazi, erected this column, Anno Hejirah 770. Shemsadeen designed that this pillar and another similar one should have marked the entrance of a magnificent mosque. It was begun upon the ruins of a Hindoo temple. Having finished this pillar, and parts of the buildings adjacent, Shemsadeen's premature death prevented the completion of a work which would have been one of the most magnificent in the world. The whole was intended as a monument to perpetuate to posterity the triumph of Mahomedan faith over that of Brimha. The column has a most stupendous appearance. Conceive a shaft of sixty feet diameter, composed partly of red stone, partly of white marble,

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rising to the height of two hundred and fifty feet.

Ascending this pillar, relief is afforded by four projecting galleries of red stone. Tapering toward the summit, it was crowned with an octagon pavilion. I imagine this pavilion would have contained at least, a dozen persons. Each of the galleries are most richly tho' differently ornamented. The column is relieved, and rendered strikingly bold, by convex and angular projections.

Within this grand tower, is a circular staircase of three hundred and eight steps of red stone. There are, at intervals, landing places which communicate with windows. From the octagon, on the summit, the view is strikingly grand. Looking from such a height, the mind is impressed with sensations of admiration and of awe. Inscriptions in several parts, twelve inches in breadth, embrace the column. These contain verses from the Koran, in the Arabick character. The galleries are supported by sculptured ornaments,

of which the richness is greatly heightened by a profusion of frieze work.

This description of the Coottub Minar, with the engraving\* shewing the vestiges of the ruins which surround it, will I doubt not incline the reader to think with me that they are objects to a traveller, perhaps, equally interesting as any in the world; and through the east are not to be found more impressive memorials of its ingenuity, its magnificence, and its grandeur.

\* For this I am indebted to the kindness of Lieutenant Macdougall, of the engineers, from whose sketch, on the spot, it has been engraved.

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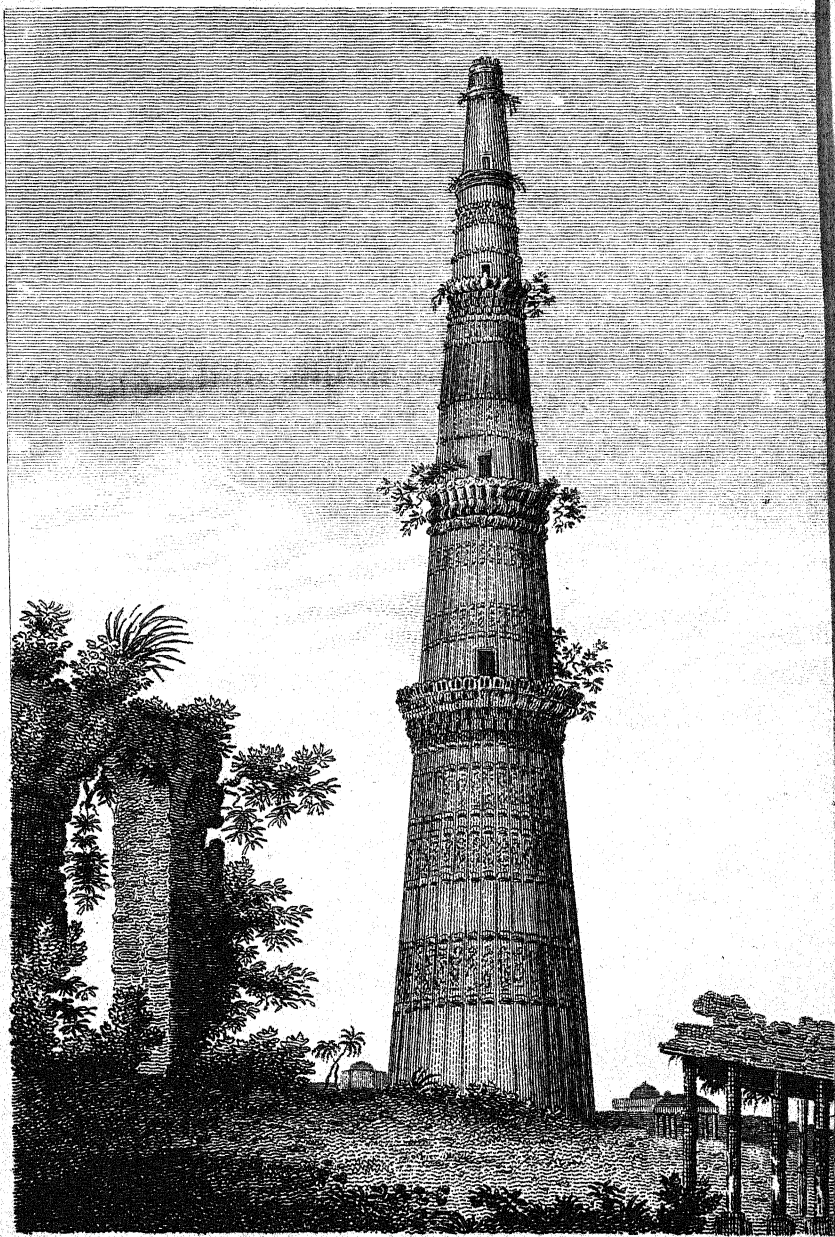
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S.W.VIEW OF THE CÔÔTUB MINAR .

*Height of the Column 250 feet. Diameter 60 ft.*

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## CHAPTER II.

*Mr. Thomas marches towards his new Pergunahs.—Military operations.—Intrigues of Begum Somroo.—She is deposed.—Death of Levassé.—Altercation betwixt Mr. Thomas and Appakandarow.—Occurrences.*

HAVING remained some time at Delhi, it afforded Mr. Thomas the opportunity of recruiting his forces to 700 men ; with this reinforcement, he prepared for his departure to the districts which had been assigned to him by Appakandarow.

To the accomplishment of that purpose a new obstacle arose ;—unable to pay his troops, they became mutinous, and plundered the adjacent country. This conduct disgusting Appakandarow, produced high words between him and Mr. Thomas. The dispute, after much altercation, ended in a compromise, by

which Mr. Thomas received the sum of 14,000 rupees, and an assignment for the rest of his claims. The latter, however, was never fulfilled.

In the march towards his districts, Mr. Thomas retaliated upon the Begum Sumroo, whom he now considered his bitter enemy, laying under contribution that part of her country which came within his route.

Arriving at Goorath, a large and populous village, he imposed heavy contributions. These amounted to a considerable sum. He found here also an ample supply of bullocks and forage.

Continuing his march, after a long and tedious day's journey, he encamped near the town of Tejara, a place in the centre of the Mewattee district. The night was dark and rainy: this and the extreme fatigue of the soldiers conspired to render successful an attempt which the Mewattys made, and they carried off a horse from the very centre of the camp.

In the morning, a party was detached to discover the village to which the horse had been conveyed. The party had not proceeded far when they were attacked, and obliged to retreat. Orders were then given for the cavalry to advance, and cover the detachment. And Mr. Thomas himself leading the infantry, hastily marched, and with his collected force, attacked the enemy at the village, to which, it appears, the horse had been carried. By this time they had assembled and became formidable. The centre division of Mr. Thomas's troops, in a short time set fire to the village, and there seemed no doubt of a complete victory, when the divisions on the right and left giving way, fled with precipitation. The wounded left on the field were, even at this crisis of the action, cut to pieces by the enemy.

The centre division, under the special command of Mr. Thomas, now following the example of their brethren, left him, of his troops, only a dozen infantry and a few cavalry.

Thus discomfited and vexed by the unsteadiness of his troops, Mr. Thomas, as a last resort,

encouraged his small party to exert themselves in extricating a nine-pounder, which unfortunately, previously to the battle, had stuck in the bed of a nullah. In this he had just succeeded, when the enemy, as certain of victory, recommenced a furious attack, and endeavoured to seize the gun.

The commandant of cavalry, a man of distinguished bravery, still adhered to Mr. Thomas, and desperately, with a few others, threw himself between the gun and the enemy. *They* were cut to pieces, but the gallant effort afforded time to re-mount and oppose a well-directed fire of grape from the nine-pounder. This saved Mr. Thomas and the brave few of his surviving party. For, after the discharge of a few rounds, the enemy retired to the surrounding ravines.

Mr. Thomas now collected the fugitives, who with his veteran party formed a detachment of about 300 men. With these he unconcernedly challenged the enemy to a renewal of the combat, which they now as cautiously declined.

In its first view so disastrous, this action, by the dread it spread among the enemy, proved highly fortunate. Great as was Mr. Thomas's loss of brave and attached soldiers, that of the Mewattys was infinitely more considerable. The immediate consequence was an overture, on the part of their chief, of terms which shortly led to an amicable adjustment. They agreed to pay Mr. Thomas a year's rent, and to restore to him the property that had been stolen. The performance of these articles was guaranteed by securities.

The punishment of this village, the strongest in the whole district, and its inhabitants the most refractory, was highly favourable to Mr. Thomas's interest; the more so, as in a preceding campaign the whole force of Begum Sumroo had been in vain exerted to reduce it. Mr. Thomas next prepared to march against the remaining districts which were still in rebellion; and, having recruited his force for this purpose, he was ordered by Appakandarow to assist the collector of the district of Kishnagur.

Convinced by experience that vigorous measures could alone ensure success, Mr. Thomas marched towards the refractory villages; of which having gained possession, they were quickly consumed by fire.

An example so severe deterred others from pursuing a similar conduct. Of these the most considerable was the town of Jyjur; which, however, submitting on the approach of the troops, opposition was at an end, and Mr. Thomas returned to Tejara.

On the submission of Jyjur, Appakandarow gave Mr. Thomas an order for a supply of money upon the collector of that place. The collector endeavoured to evade payment, by representing that the distressed situation of Appakandarow (whose troops had just mutinied for want of payment of their arrears), required every rupee that could be raised; in consequence, Mr. Thomas must, for the present, dispense with payment. This, he observes, was true; but his people being in distress, to provide a remedy, he marched to Behadurg-

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hur, in order to raise by contribution the necessary supplies.

In his route, the small villages were found to be deserted and the large ones increased with numbers of armed persons. By this time, Mr. Thomas's troops, thinned by frequent desertions, amounted only to 300 men ; but these, had they been soldiers accustomed to discipline, would still have been sufficient to answer the purpose of completing the reduction of the rebellious Zemindars.

Arriving at Mundaka, the Zemindars of which place had been the original cause of the misunderstanding betwixt Appakandarow and Mr. Thomas, were found ready for the combat ; Mr. Thomas therefore, though with a force so inconsiderable, hesitated not in making an immediate attack : in this he was successful, and having defeated the enemy, he found in the place plunder to the amount of four thousand rupees.

During these transactions, the Begum Sumroo, and the Mahratta governor of Delhi,

jealous of the ascendancy Mr. Thomas had acquired, sent a force to watch his motions: for the present he thought the most prudent method to escape observation would be by removing to a distance, and his new levies being now complete, he marched directly back to the town of Tejara.

At this place Mr. Thomas received a letter from Appakandarow, who was still detained in the fort of Kotepootly by the mutinous state of his troops. His situation had been rendered thus unpleasant by the intrigues of Gopaul Row, Scindia's commander in chief. That chief had written letters to the principal firdars in the army, promising them payment of their arrears provided they would deliver up Appa as a prisoner. He further observed, that he had but too much reason to imagine the firdars would yield a ready acquiescence to this offer; that, distressed for provisions, and having his family with him, if Mr. Thomas could not come to his assistance, he must ultimately be compelled to throw himself on the mercy of his enemies.

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On receipt of this letter, although it rained heavily and the day was far advanced, Mr. Thomas, without hesitation, set off: he marched all that night and the best part of the ensuing day and night through a constant and heavy rain. About two o'clock in the morning he arrived at the fort of Kotepootly. The incessant rain prevented his having any opposition from the enemy without, and he encamped under the walls of the fort. The communication was thus happily opened, and provisions being sent in, plenty succeeded to the scarcity before experienced.

Mr. Thomas, aware that the force of the mutineers would daily become augmented, recommended to Appakandarow to evacuate the fort, and retreat to Kanoond. In the mean time he advised that letters should be written to Scindia, to deprecate the resentment of that chief. Approving of Mr. Thomas's proposal, Appakandarow appointed the ensuing day for the accomplishment of his purpose, and the business was conducted with so much secrecy and address, that until the moment of departure every one seemed ignorant of the intend-

ed movement. At the appointed hour, Appakandarow, attended by a few persons who still adhered to him, came out of the fort of Kotepootly with his family and effects; he was received by Mr. Thomas, and placed in the centre of a strong detachment, who formed around him, and commenced their march.

In order to protect the baggage, Mr. Thomas, with the remainder of his force, remained behind for a short time, but the enemy now appearing prepared to pursue the detachment with determination to rescue Appakandarow, Mr. Thomas, without further delay, joined that chief. They had not proceeded far when the van of the enemy made their appearance. Mr. Thomas, as the only means of inspiring confidence, recommended to Appakandarow to mount an elephant, and shew himself to the troops. The measure was instantly adopted, and attended with the happiest effect; for the enemy perceiving this resolute conduct thought it most prudent to retire, and Mr. Thomas, without further opposition, conducted his chief in safety to Kanoond. Appakandarow, released from his embarrassment, was desirous of making

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a grateful return for the services that had been rendered. He adopted Mr. Thomas as his son, presented him with the sum of three thousand rupees to purchase an elephant and palankeen suitable to the dignity of his station, ordered him to encrease his force two hundred infantry and as many cavalry; and finally, made over to him, in perpetuity, the districts of Jyjur, Byrce, Mandoté, and Phatoda, which yield an annual revenue of a lack and fifty thousand rupees.

He was then dismissed by Appakandarow, and directed to complete the arrangement of the remaining districts in the Mewatty country.

This was become more necessary; a principal Zemindar, by name Gunga Bishen, and of the tribe called Aheer,\* had not only openly rebelled, but had made offers to Gopaul Row of surrendering up the district to Scindia; as an additional inducement for his acceptance,

\* This tribe can bring into the field a body of fourteen thousand men.

the rebel stated that the real amount of the revenues were much larger than what had been acknowledged by Appakandarow, and paid by him to Scindia as his lord paramount. Appa being apprised of this treacherous correspondence, directed Mr. Thomas without delay to march and attack the rebel. He, on disclosure of his treachery, fled to the mountainous part of the Mewatty country, and there fortified himself. The orders for the march had been kept a profound secret in Mr. Thomas's camp. Arriving suddenly before the place, by a successful stratagem Mr. Thomas took Gunga Bishen prisoner, whom he sent to Appa. The fort was still maintained by his nephew, and a garrison of one thousand men; they had abundance of provisions, ammunition, and stores of all kinds; the only inconvenience sustained by the inhabitants was a scarcity of water. This article was not to be procured within two miles of the place. Mr. Thomas, in the hope of compelling them to surrender, commenced a blockade; and the better to ensure success he constructed a chain of redoubts round the fort.

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Whilst employed in the erection of these posts he had a narrow escape for his life. Retired to snatch an hour of sleep and refreshment from the toils of the preceding day, Mr. Thomas was suddenly awakened in the night by the noise and shouts of the enemy. Repairing to an eminence in the neighbourhood, he had the mortification to perceive that his own people had given way, and the enemy were become masters of a newly-finished redoubt, together with the arms and ammunition contained within: to add to his distress he perceived a party advancing to the place where he stood, unarmed and defenceless, (the hurry of his being awake not giving him time to secure either pistols or side-arms): fortunately however for him, a faithful servant had followed him with his sword, which taking from the man's hand he prepared for his defence.

From various quarters spears were thrown, and matchlocks fired at him but without effect. Perceiving a stand of colours which his own men had left behind, he stooped to pick them up, which the enemy observing, concluded by the motion of his body that he had been

wounded; they rushed on him in numbers, and wounded him in several places. This compelled him to relinquish the colours and attack the enemy, whom he soon obliged to retreat. Mr. Thomas then ascended an eminence, in order to discover, if possible, the direction his own troops had taken in their pusillanimous flight, but in vain. Faint from the wounds he had received in the late encounter, he now retired within his trenches and got them dressed. The siege of the place advanced apace, and two mines having been sprung with considerable effect the garrison capitulated.

During this siege Mr. Thomas and his people had undergone great hardship. Whilst the grain remained on the ground he was enabled to procure supplies from the neighbouring country, but the harvest being got in they were reduced to a scarcity of provisions. His own tent, the only one in the camp, was converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded; and the season being severe Mr. Thomas humanely sold his own horses to procure blankets for the men.



Mr. Thomas next marched to Jyjur : on his arrival at that place, the zemindars who had revolted, not chusing to contest the point, paid their rents, and the troops received their arrears.

Gopaul Row, the Mahratta general, was about this time superseded in his office of lieutenant-general of the possessions of Scindia in Hindostan. Luckwah Dadah and Jigwah Bapoo were appointed to succeed him. In this state of Mr. Thomas's affairs, the army of these chiefs arrived in the vicinity of Appa's country. That chief determined to pay his respects, and for this purpose repaired to their camp ; at first he was well received, but had not long remained when a sum of money was required of him under pretext of payment of an old tribute due to Scindia. He was moreover informed, that until this was paid he would be detained in the camp.

Unable to raise the sum demanded, Appakandarow was under the necessity of resigning the best part of his country into the hands of Bapoo Farnevese, who had been appointed

by the exprefs orders of the Poona government. Although the fum required was lefs than two lacks of rupees, and many perfons in Appa's family could eafily have afforded him affiftance in his diftreff, not a man was to be found who would now part with a rupee. The diftricts were therefore made over in mortgage; and the fum required by the Mahratta commanders was advanced by Bapoo Farnevefe.

It was moreover ftipulated, that the troops kept up by Bapoo, for the purpofe of collection, fhould be paid from the treasury of Ap-pakandarow. " In fhort (fays Mr. Thomas in terms of indignation) it was plainly to be feen, that whoever might hereafter, by chance of war, obtain poffeffion of the diftricts in queftion, it was evident that by thefe conceffions, Appa had for ever done away his own right."

Among thefe pergunnahs were three in the Mewatty country which belonged to Mr. Thomas. The lofs to him was fevere; but, as he obferves with a confideration highly to his credit as a foldier, " I had no caufe for

“ complaint when my principal was ruined.” After these transactions Mr. Thomas was directed to assist the deputy appointed by Appa to collect the revenues of the remaining part of his country: a task of considerable difficulty; since the Zemindars, hearing of Appa’s detention in the camp of the Mahrattas, had broken out into open rebellion against his authority. To reduce them to obedience, Mr. Thomas marched with about eight hundred men that remained after the heavy service he had lately experienced; promptitude in planning, and vigour in execution, being absolutely necessary, Mr. Thomas, by his animated exertions, in a very short time captured several of the principal places, some by day assaults, and others by night.

Among others, the capture of Byree appears interesting in the narration. “ In the fort, says Mr. Thomas, “ exclusive of the garrison, “ were three hundred rajepoots and jauts. “ These had been hired for the express purpose of defending the place, and it was here “ I was in the most imminent danger of losing “ the whole of my party. We had stormed

“ the fort, and were beat back with loss;  
“ one of my firdars was wounded, and, from  
“ the confusion that occurred, left behind in  
“ the hands of the enemy; the danger was  
“ every moment increasing, the town was on  
“ fire in several parts, and our retreat nearly  
“ cut off by the flames that surrounded us.

“ In this situation, we had the additional  
“ mortification to perceive the merciless enemy  
“ seize on the wounded officer, and, with savage  
“ barbarity, precipitate him into the fire.  
“ Equally animated, as enraged, by this spectacle,  
“ my troops now rushed forward to the  
“ attack, with an ardour that was irresistible.  
“ Having gained entire possession of the fort,  
“ the soldiers, with clamorous expressions of revenge,  
“ insisted on the death of every one of  
“ the garrison that remained, and I was not inclined  
“ to refuse; but it cost us dear, the  
“ enemy to a man made a brave resistance.  
“ This contest was continued so long, as to  
“ afford time to those who had retreated, to  
“ return: by this means, we were again engaged,  
“ and at one time almost overpowered;  
“ but, receiving a reinforcement of our own

“ party, the enemy, by slow degrees, began again to retreat which they effected. I pursued with the cavalry: the enemy once more made a stand in the jungles adjoining to the town; when, after a second desperate conflict, they gave way on all sides, and most of them were cut to pieces.”

Scarcely however had Mr. Thomas completed the objects of his march, when he received letters from Appa, of a tendency most unpromising: in these, Appa, after descanting on his finances, the low state of which did not permit him to retain longer, either Mr. Thomas or his troops, recommended him to dismiss his battalions, and repair to the head quarters, which were now in the country of the Row Rajah.

In answer, Mr. Thomas stated his utter impossibility to discharge the men, without previous payment of their arrears. He then marched to join Appa, and found that chief in the vicinity of Alwar. Appa, after expatiating on the ungrateful conduct of those persons who had enjoyed his confidence, informed Mr.

Thomas, in terms of apparent uneasiness, that the Mahratta commanders, who had become acquainted with his influence, and the part he had taken in the business against the mutineers, considered him as a dangerous person; as one who would, if occasion occurred, act against the interests of Scindia himself: they had therefore requested of him to discharge Mr. Thomas from the service.

This information, however, Mr. Thomas found to be incorrect; for in a conference he had with Luckwa on the following day, that chief not only disclaimed all idea of disapproving Mr. Thomas's conduct, but even offered him the command of two thousand men in the service of Scindia.

Mr. Thomas, for several reasons, declined closing with this proposal. The districts of Appa's country were now in open rebellion; and, notwithstanding the present deceit on his part, Mr. Thomas considered himself under obligations which could not be passed over; that if he now quitted him, it would in all probability prove his utter ruin; he therefore resolved to

adhere to Appakandarow, and endeavour to retrieve his affairs.

Appa excused himself for his late conduct, and Mr. Thomas now prepared for his march. For the present he was interrupted by a request from Luckwa to afford his assistance in the reduction of a fort which had refused to pay the usual tribute. Mr. Thomas, with the consent of Appa, joined the forces of Luckwa, and commenced their march.

On their arrival before the place Mr. Thomas's post was assigned him; but his soldiers being now six months in arrears, refused, without payment, to proceed: in this exigency, Mr. Thomas, to satisfy their demands, was once more compelled to part with his property; having done this, the soldiers returned to their duty.

The enemy, in the hope of compelling the Mahrattas to raise the siege, had taken possession of the ravines in the neighbourhood: several skirmishes took place, with loss on both sides.

A proposal was made by Mr. Gardiner, the commandant of a brigade of Scindia's troops, to advance the second parallel: a council assembled to consult on the most eligible mode, but finding this could not be effected without first taking a redoubt which lay in their front, no person appearing inclined to risk the enterprise, the council broke up.

On the ensuing day Mr. Thomas, of his own accord, took an opportunity, when the enemy were off their guard, to storm the redoubt. Repeated attempts were made by the enemy to regain possession, but he bravely maintained himself in it, till a reinforcement arriving they gave up the contest. Mr. Thomas immediately fortified the post.

The parallel was advanced, and the garrison perceiving no chance of succour from without, the commandant negotiated, and as a ransom for the fort agreed to pay the sum of two lacs of rupees. Mr. Thomas received a sum sufficient to reimburse him for the expences he had incurred, and was then directed



to return to his own districts. Soon after his arrival he restored them to order.

Mr. Thomas had by this time formed his men into a regiment consisting of two battalions; of these, one he detached to collect the revenues of the country, and with the other remained at Jyjur.

During these transactions begum Sumroo, in whose service Mr. Thomas had formerly been employed, was now trying every means in her power to effect his ruin. She had even gone so far as to bribe the Mahratta officers to advise his dismissal; and a body of Mahrattas having joined her army, she marched from Sirdhanna, her capital, and encamped about seventeen coss south-east of Jyjur.

This conduct in the begum Mr. Thomas attributed to the influence of the officers in her service; and more particularly to that of Levassio, who not only commanded her troops, but had lately received her hand in marriage.

On every occasion, he was the declared and inveterate enemy of Mr. Thomas; and had by his influence wrought in the begum her present determination.

In the begum's army it was publicly asserted, that their present destination was against Mr. Thomas. Her force, consisting of four battalions of infantry, twenty pieces of artillery, and about four hundred cavalry, was commanded by officers of tried and acknowledged abilities. Mr. Thomas, having recalled the battalion that had been detached, had now a regiment consisting of two thousand men, ten pieces of artillery, five hundred irregulars, and two hundred cavalry.

The dissensions, however, that arose among the begum's officers, not only induced her to relinquish her intention of attacking Mr. Thomas, but ended in her imprisonment, and the total subversion of her authority. The cause of these dissensions must now be traced to its source.

Levaffo, who had the chief command of the

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begum's army, was jealous of the authority of Legois. This man is a German; and so named from Liege, the place of his nativity. He had been many years in habits of intimacy and friendship with Mr. Thomas; and, on the present occasion, had strenuously dissuaded the begum from the proposed hostilities. This conduct having given umbrage to Levassé, he by his influence with the begum, procured Legois's degradation; and to render his disgrace the more mortifying, his place was given to a junior officer.

A conduct so inconsistent and unjust disgusted the soldiers, who for many years had been commanded by Legois, with whom also they had often fought and conquered. They remonstrated, but in vain, against the measure; finding there was no hope of altering the begum's resolution, they suddenly broke out into open mutiny. They invited Zuffur Yab Khawn, the son of the late Sumroo by a former wife, who then resided at Delhi, to become their commander. In return, they promised to seat him on the musnud. For this purpose, a deputation of the army, in spite of

all the exertions of the begum, repaired to Delhi, and solemnly tendered him the command. Zuffur Yab Khawn, fearful of the intrigues of his mother-in-law, at last consented. To relieve his apprehension, the deputation, in the name of the army, took an oath of fidelity to him on the spot.

On the first intelligence of the conspiracy the begum and Levaffo, with a few of their old servants, prepared for flight. It was their intention to have proceeded directly to the Ganges, and to seek refuge in the country of the vizier Afuph ool Dowla.

In this resolution, however, they were unfortunately intercepted. A party of cavalry which had been detached by Zuffur Yub Khawn on the first intimation of their flight, overtook and surrounded them at the village of Kerwah, in the begum's jaghire, four miles distant from her capital. Previous to the commencement of hostilities the commandant of cavalry proclaimed a free pardon, and promise of their arrears, to the soldiers who still adhered

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to the begum, on condition of their laying down their arms, and delivering up the begum and her husband.

In the confusion that arose, and before any resolution could be taken, some shot were fired, and a few men slightly wounded. The soldiers, perceiving they had nothing to hope from the begum (who, they knew, only wished to get away with her effects), openly declared themselves for Sumroo's son. The infantry then surrounding her palanquin demanded her to surrender; the cavalry at the same time surrounded her husband, who was on horseback. The begum at that instant drew a poniard from her side, and running the point of it across her breast drew a little blood, but with no intention of killing herself. Her attendants calling for assistance, Levassé hearing the tumult demanded to know what had happened. He was answered that the begum had killed herself: twice he put the same question, and receiving the same answer, with great deliberation he put a pistol to his mouth, shot himself, and immediately fell from his horse. "The villain" (says Mr. Thomas) who, the preceding

“day, had styled themselves his slaves, now  
“committed every act of insult and indignity  
“upon his corpse!” For three days it lay  
exposed to the insults of the rabble, and was  
at length thrown into a ditch.

Meanwhile Zuffur Yub Khawn advanced to  
Sirdhanna, whither the begum had already  
been conducted a prisoner; and having assumed  
the government of the jaghire, tranquillity was  
soon re-established. *1797*

Freed from the apprehension of hostilities,  
Mr. Thomas now sedulously employed him-  
self in the arrangement of the districts.

Appakandarow, who during the late events  
had found means to sow dissensions between  
Luckwa and Bappoo Fernevese, now reaped  
the fruits of his address. Finding these  
commanders at variance, he prepared to re-  
turn to Kanond; and while on the march  
to that place, sent written orders to Mr.  
Thomas to dismiss the collectors who had been  
appointed by Bappoo, and to reinstate his  
own.

*But correct  
Thomas was  
not satisfied  
leaving the  
Begum alone  
but to his  
own power  
found his  
text to a few  
in the same  
and very soon  
seize Zuffur  
who was informed  
of the remainder  
of his life. The Begum  
his own, Bappoo Thomas  
employed himself  
his own power -  
Begum adopted a natural  
or the same - a daughter  
she married at 17  
the family took the name  
of the Begum -  
very day*

Mr. Thomas obeyed; but Bappoo's army amounting to three thousand men, it cost the lives of many to dispossess him.

This affair however being at length terminated, Mr. Thomas had the long-expected interview with Appa. They met at Narnoul, a place which had that morning surrendered to his arms. After the strongest expressions of satisfaction, and of the sense he entertained of his services, as proof of those sentiments Appakandarow presented Mr. Thomas with an elephant, a palanquin, shawls, and other articles of value.

A reception so cordial was highly gratifying; but its effect was soon diminished when, three days after, Appa demanded the delivery of a Bramin in the service of Bappoo Fernevese, from whom he intended to exact a fine.

It must here be remarked, that previous to the surrender of the fort this man, coming privately to Mr. Thomas's camp, had offered terms for the delivery of the fort, for himself and two others who accompanied him; as the reward

*and given  
to the  
family is now  
as the Bramin  
the must have  
of almost  
Siddharan*

of his treachery, he required security of life and property, to which Mr. Thomas yielded a ready assent.

Notwithstanding these assurances, Appa, at this time in want of a supply of money, insisted on his delivery, which Mr. Thomas for the reasons above stated as positively declined.

To convince Appa of the justness of his reasoning, Mr. Thomas exhibited to that chief his own written orders, which had been communicated at the commencement of hostilities. These positively specified that the servants of Bappoo or his adherents who submitted should not suffer either in person or fortune, but on the contrary were to be allowed a safe conduct and suitable escort to Mattra or Delhi.

In vain Mr. Thomas shewed this order; Appa continued inflexible, and contended moreover that as these people had formerly been in his own employ, he had on the present occasion a right to extort money. On quitting the durbar the bramin informed Mr. Thomas that he with others was willing to settle ac-



counts with Appa, and only required that persons of integrity should be appointed to inspect them. To this likewise Appa refused his consent; adding that if Mr. Thomas still hesitated to deliver up the people his own consequence would thereby be lessened in the eyes of his army. They parted mutually dissatisfied with each other. To bring this business to an issue Mr. Thomas sent a message, offering to procure a person who, if the bramin was liberated, should become responsible for the adjustment of the accounts. Appa, highly enraged, and well knowing that the bramin owed him nothing, not only rejected this proposal, but declined all further intercourse.

A few days after this altercation, Appa sent a message to Mr. Thomas desiring his attendance in the town. He went thither. On his arrival at the house he was informed by the servants that Appa was unable to come down. Mr. Thomas, unwilling to give any cause for offence, ordered the soldiers who had accompanied him to remain below; and ascending by himself, was, by a person on whose attachment he could rely, introduced into his apart-

ment : to his no small surprize, that chief appeared in perfect health, but of this Mr. Thomas took no notice. The discourse concerning the Bramin was renewed ; and shortly after Appa rising from his seat, told Mr. Thomas he intended taking a slight repast, and would then return. Scarcely had he quitted the room in which they sat before Mr. Thomas was surprised by the appearance of several armed men. He now began to suspect some treacherous attempt against his person might be intended ; but with that presence of mind which on trying occasions never forsook him, he continued firm on his seat, convinced that if on this occasion he had retired it would have afforded matter of triumph to his enemies.

In this situation he remained until Appa returned to an adjoining room ; from thence he sent Mr. Thomas a written order immediately to deliver up the persons in question. Mr. Thomas perceiving matters were advancing to a crisis, and preferring death to dishonour, rose from his seat, and resolutely told the person who had delivered the order that he would never perform what was now required ; with-

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out further discussion he entered the apartment of Appa, his sword being in his hand, but as yet undrawn: the Mahratta chief, on Mr. Thomas's approach, appeared hesitating, and as if he was uncertain how to act; Mr. Thomas perceiving his confusion took this opportunity of paying him the customary compliment, and retiring unmolested, though fully determined to visit him no more.

On his arrival in the camp, Mr. Thomas dispatched his Dewan to Appakandarow with the following message:—"That compelled by a just indignation against the treachery of his proceeding, he would no longer serve him." In making this declaration, Mr. Thomas had the satisfaction to find he was supported by the troops; who, fired at the insult offered to a man whom they so highly respected, had declared with unanimous consent that they would remain no longer in the service of Appakandarow. Intimidated by this spirited resolution, Appa now wished to compromise the matter: he sent excuses to Mr. Thomas in mitigation of his treachery, and to ensure confidence came the next day in person to the camp. Willing

to forget the past, Mr. Thomas received his chief with respect; and matters having once more been placed on an amicable footing, Appa told Mr. Thomas that he had received letters from Bappoo Farnevese, requesting the delivery of the persons who had occasioned the differences, as a personal favour to himself. They were accordingly sent off to Muttra in the manner proposed.

Mr. Thomas was now directed to repair to the Mewatty country, to collect the tribute that had become due. Taking leave of Appa, he in a few days arrived at Mewat; his presence at this juncture was the more necessary, perpetual quarrels having arisen between the collectors of Appakandarow and those who had been recently nominated by the Mahratta commanders. Mr. Thomas, however, by his active and spirited conduct on this occasion, by punishing some and conciliating others, at last brought matters into a favourable train of settlement. In the course of these transactions he had been under the necessity of taking one of the forts by storm, in which were found several pieces of artillery, and an abundant supply of bullocks

and other carriage-cattle. Appakandarow, hearing of this capture, claimed as his right the artillery that had been found in the fort. Mr. Thomas as strenuously insisted on its being the property of the captors. Repeated altercations ensued, till at length Appakandarow having secretly gained over a body of Ghoffeins, who were proceeding to their annual pilgrimage at Hurdwar, instigated them to the attack of Mr. Thomas's camp.

## CHAPTER III.

*Descriptive account of the Hurdwar, and of the annual pilgrimage—Mr. Thomas defeats the Ghosseins—the districts of Panniput and Sonempur are added to Mr. Thomas's possessions—account of the city of Panniput, and of the canal of Ali Merdan Khan.*

THE mountains through which the Ganges flows at Hurdwar, present the spectator with the view of a grand natural amphitheatre; their appearance is rugged, and destitute of verdure; they run in ridges and blunt points, in a direction east and west; at the back of the largest range, rise, towering to the clouds, the lofty mountains of Himmalayah, whose tops are covered with perpetual snow, which on clear days present a most sublime prospect. The large jagged masses, broken into a variety of irregular shapes, added to their stupendous height, impress the mind with an idea of antiquity and grandeur coeval

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with the creation, and the eternal frost with which they are encrusted appears to preclude the possibility of mortals ever attaining their summit.

In viewing this grand spectacle of nature, the traveller may easily yield his assent to, and pardon, the superstitious veneration of the Hindoo votary who, in the fervour of his imagination, assigns the summit of these icy regions as the abode of the great Mahadeo, or First Cause; where, seated on his throne of ice, he is supposed to receive the homage of the surrounding universe.

Hurdwar is a place of great sanctity, and rendered memorable for the pilgrimages made thither from a remote antiquity.

About the latter end of March, and beginning of April, the pilgrims from Punjab, Guzerat, and the lowest points of Bengal, assemble in prodigious numbers.

In 1794, not less than an hundred and fifty thousand persons were assembled, though four-

teen days were still remaining before the pilgrimage would be completed.

Brima and Bishun, or the creating and preserving powers, are the principal objects of worship at Hurdwar. The temple, situate at the foot of the mountain, is called Brimha-kood, or the reservoir of Brimha. Hither the pilgrims resort, and after purifying themselves in the Ganges, they cut off their hair and shave themselves. Those who die during the pilgrimage, are burnt on the banks of the Ganges, and their ashes thrown into the river.

The pilgrimage to Hurdwar is esteemed of such consequence, as to be equivalent to that of Cafi (Benares), Puraug (Allahabad), or Chillumbrum, in the Carnatic; and a devotee who has visited this place may be excused from going to any other the remainder of his days. This pilgrimage never fails to benefit the inhabitants of Hurdwar and the neighbouring villages; as out of the great number who resort there at the annual period, all persons are obliged to pay a dustoor, or tax, to the bra-

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mins and chokeydars of the villages. This amounts to a large sum.

Exclusive of the profits before stated, the Mahrattas receive a tax upon horses and camels coming to the fair; the former paying eight annas per head, and the latter six annas; one half of this impost is levied at the village Joalhpore, and the remainder at the Hurdwar. Hackerys, or wheel-carriages, pay a tax of eight annas, and the covered doolies for the women two annas. There is likewise a refoom (custom) upon the sale of horses and camels, on the former ten per cent. and the latter eight, which is paid equally between the vendor and purchaser. Another mode by which the inhabitants enrich themselves is, by raising the price of grain and articles of provision, though upon the balance this is not much against the visitors; who, bringing along with them the production of their respective countries, dispose of their goods to advantage at Hurdwar.

Hence this pilgrimage has been converted into a great fair, where all sorts of merchan-

dize from various parts of Hindostan are fold.

To Hurdwar are brought horses, camels, mules, cloths from the Punjab, shawls, fruit, saffron, musk, Cashmerian wool, brags, and tutinague; *cherrufs*, an intoxicating drug, which bears an excessive price in Bengal; fire-arms from Lahore, and excellent Persian scimitars. These several articles are bought, exchanged, and sold; and, from the assemblage of people composed of so many different nations, the place resembles a grand commercial emporium: added to this, those rajahs and petty chiefs, who visit Hurdwar from religious motives, being attended by their troops, and their respective suites, contribute to accumulate the general mass, so that all is hurry, bustle, noise, and confusion.

But to return to our narrative after this digression. The Mahratta chief afore-mentioned, having instigated the Ghoffeins to attack Mr. Thomas in his camp, to encourage them, offered as a reward for their services, the sum of ten thousand rupees. These particulars were

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communicated to Mr. Thomas by his own vakeel, then resident with Appa. Incensed at the indignity offered him by a conduct so treacherous, he marched against the Ghoffeins, whom he attacked and defeated with great loss to them, and to himself but trifling. After the encounter, they fled towards Delhi; and not thinking themselves safe there, continued to retreat until they had crossed the Jumna.

On the retreat of the Ghoffeins, Mr. Thomas expostulated with Appa on the treachery of his conduct. He told him that the late transaction was so shameful, that he could no longer remain in his service. Mr. Thomas particularly expatiated on the treatment sustained by a Mr. Taylor: whom, after unjustly depriving of his command, Appa had confined in the fort of Goalier, under the pretext of extorting money; till finding the man was not either to be daunted by threats, or cajoled by promises, he had at length given him his liberty. "Such," said Mr. Thomas with indignation, "has been the fate of all who have served  
" you with fidelity."

As a Mahratta is feldom at a loss for an excuse, Appa, in answer to these charges, replied, that his own inability to attend to business (being confined by illness) had occasioned those who had undertaken to manage his concerns, to act in a manner so unworthy; that a dangerous disorder with which he had been long afflicted was growing worse every day, and that he wished much for a personal interview with Mr. Thomas before his death. In this letter, Appakandarow further urged, that the person whom he intended for his successor being young and inexperienced, he wished to avail himself of the benefit of Mr. Thomas's counsel, Appakandarow being from experience well convinced no other person would be equally interested with the welfare of his family. Finally he assured Mr. Thomas, that in the proposed interview he would not only clear himself from the aspersions of treachery, but arrange every thing to their mutual satisfaction and advantage.

This intimation excited no small degree of surprise in Mr. Thomas, but from past experience he did not chuse to place implicit re-

liance in the declaration of the Mahratta chief. He was thus reduced to a critical situation: for as on the one hand it was difficult to refuse the request of so powerful a chief; so on the other, a laudable regard for his personal safety, if treachery were intended, induced him to decline the proposed visit. From this state of uncertainty and suspense he was happily relieved, by intelligence of a numerous body of seiks having made an irruption into the Dooab, and were at that time committing depredations in the vicinity of Seharunpore, the capital of the late Gholaum Cadir Khan.

The apprehension of all parties was considerably augmented, when it was known that on their first onset they had cut to pieces some battalions of Mahratta troops stationed for the defence of that province.

Although Appakandarow had no particular connexion with Seharunpore, he thought that, in common with other powers, he ought to exert himself to prevent further incursions, especially as his own district would in all probability be the next invaded by these desperate ma-

raiders. He therefore directed Mr. Thomas to march with his whole force, and with all possible expedition, giving the most express injunctions to fight the seiks wherever he might come up with them in the Mahratta territories.

Agreeably to these instructions, Mr. Thomas lost no time in repairing to Jyjur; from whence, crossing the Jumna to the northward of Delhi, he advanced rapidly towards the enemy. They not being inclined for the contest thought proper to retreat, crossed the river, and returned unmolested to the Punjab. Mr. Thomas in this place remarks, that whilst in the service of Begum Sumroo he had encountered the seiks on more than one occasion, and had already given them samples of his method of fighting; and though their number at this time was not more than five thousand men, they had not only defeated the Mahrattas, but compelled them to take shelter in the fort of Jelalabad.

Luckwa, commander of the Mahratta forces, hearing of the disgrace sustained by his troops at Seharunpore, as likewise of the subsequent

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flight of the felks on Mr. Thomas's approach, now requested of Appa to permit this enterprising man to raise a body of two thousand men for the protection of the province of Seharunpore, and other parts of the Mahratta possessions. To this request Appa, though with difficulty, complied; and in consequence of the purgunahs of Panniput, Soneput, and Karnaul, were assigned to Mr. Thomas, for the payment of two thousand infantry, two hundred cavalry, and sixteen pieces of field artillery. Bappoo Scindiah was nominated to the government of Seharunpore; which with the country adjacent, at the period we are speaking of, yielded an annual revenue of ten lacks of rupees.

The situation of the city of Panniput, and the celebrated canal in its neighbourhood, may perhaps justify a digression in its favour, and curiosity will be gratified in the detail of its ancient and present state.

Panniput is a city of great antiquity, and was inhabited by Mahomedans in the reign of Mahmoud of Ghuzna; who, during one of his

incursions into Hindoostan; settled a colony at that place. In the time of the emperor Shah Jehan, it was a populous city; and in the reign of Mahomed Shah, was selected by that prince as his principal residence. In the year 900 of the Hijira, or A. D. 1525, the Mogul emperor Mahomed Baber invaded Hindoostan: Ibrahim Lodi of the Patan dynasty at that time sat on the throne of Delhi.

He prepared to resist the invader; and assembling his forces, conducted them towards the frontiers. The rival armies met on the plains of Panniput; and a general engagement ensued, in which the forces of Ibrahim were totally defeated, and himself slain. The deceased monarch was interred on the spot where he fell, by the command of Baber, who directed a tomb to be erected to his memory. This tomb is still to be seen, about three miles to the north-west of the city. In commemoration of the victory, the Mogul prince directed a magnificent mosque to be built on the spot where his own tent was pitched, on the eastern side of the city. It is called Cabil Baug.

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This building, which exhibits one of the first specimens of Mahomedan grandeur among the Mogul race of princes, consists of a spacious apartment of forty feet square, with others adjoining. It is surmounted at top by a magnificent dome, with six-and-twenty others of smaller dimensions. These are attached to different apartments on each side of the mosque. To the eye this building has a very grand effect, but it is difficult to describe. The edifice is surrounded by a high wall of considerable length, and within the enclosure are convenient habitations for the attendants on the mosque. The wall is flanked with octangular pavilions of red stone, and the entrances through the gateways are of the same materials.

The plain of Panniput has likewise been celebrated in the history of modern times. It was on this plain that the famous battle was fought in 1762 between Ahamed Shah, the Duranny, and the Mahrattas. The latter were commanded by Viswas Raou, a prince of the Mahratta empire, who was slain in the contest. The loss of this action wrested from the Mah-

rattas the sovereignty of Hindoostan; though the supineness and effeminacy of Ahamed Shah, after his success, prevented his enjoying the fruits of his victory.\*

IN The city of Panniput is situated in  $29^{\circ} 22'$  of north latitude. Its circumference may be about four miles. It was formerly surrounded by a brick wall, which in many places is still entire. This wall, and a noble caravanfera of stone adjoining the Delhi gate, was built at the expence of Nuwaub Roshun Al Dowlah, grand-chamberlain of the household to Mahomed Shah. The remains of the Delhi gate are still handsome. It is built of brick, forty feet in height, arched at the top and flanked with towers of red stone, and is connected by

\* The particulars of this battle have been too ably detailed by the pen of colonel Brown, in a letter to the Asiatic Society, to require comments in this place. It is here sufficient to remark, that no remains of the entrenched camp of the Mahrattas are now to be seen, the plain being perfectly level. But about a mile east of the city, two trees were pointed out to us by the natives, as the place where the Bhow's tent was pitched previous to the battle.

a rampart within the city wall. The exterior of this gateway is encrusted with very fine chunam, and decorated with paintings of flowers, in various patterns, executed in a style of peculiar neatness and delicacy.

In the centre of the city is the shrine of a Mahommedan devotee, by name Shah Shurfuddeen Boo Ali Culinder, the son of Furruckuddeen Iraki. Since his death, which happened in the 724th year of the Hijerah, this mausoleum has been repaired several times. The tomb is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, at the entrance to which is a screen of perforated stone-work; beyond this is the verandah or portico, the roof of which is supported by four pillars of *fungmuhuk*, a species of black marble; the pillars are twelve feet in height, having pedestals of porphyry. The cieling of this portico is decorated with paintings of flowers on fine chunam; along the front of the vestibule, on a slab of white marble, are engraved couplets in the Persian language in black marble characters. These verses are in praise of the sanctity of the deceased, and by the operation

of the arithmetical verse called ABJUD,\* give the date of his death in the 724th year of the Hijerah.

Within the dome is the grave of Boo Ali Culinder: it is six feet by three, of white marble, and is covered by a pall of rich brocade. The whole is surrounded by a lattice-work of wood. Above is a covering of green silk, supported by four pillars of wood, encrusted with mother of pearl.

The revenues of this tomb were formerly considerable; but most of them, during the troubles which have subsisted in the upper provinces, have long since been confiscated.

\* The arithmetical verse called ABJUD, consists of the letters of the Arabic alphabet joined together so as to form articulate sounds, but without any meaning. It may be given as follows in *Roman character* :

*Abjud, Hurwuwuz, huttee, Cullamun, Saufuz, kurshut suk-khuz, Zuzzug.*

Each of these letters having a numerical property, from one to one thousand, by this operation the dates of inscriptions are discovered. See Richardson's Dictionary, article *Abjud*.

However, still there are from four to five hundred persons attendant on the shrine. These subsist on the contributions of the charitable.

The city, though now much decayed, and the population reduced, formerly contained many good houses. The bazars, of which there are two, are of considerable length, but narrow; they contain about three hundred shops tolerably well furnished. The trade of this place consists in imports of salt, grain of all kinds, and cotton cloths: they export coarse sugar.

In the flourishing times of the empire, Paniput, situated in the high road to Lahore, Cabul, and Persia, was the emporium of the caravans from the north, and the seat of an extensive commerce. But the ravages occasioned by the distracted state of the empire, for more than half a century, have not only caused a sad reverse, but almost annihilated its commercial relations with other countries.

## CANAL OF ALI MERDAN KHAN.

In the reign of Shah Jehan, Ali Merdan Khan, a nobleman of the court of Persia, who had revolted from Shah Abas, entered into the service of the Mogul prince, having previously delivered up the important fortrefs of Candahar, of which he was governor.

This nobleman, being a man of a public spirit and a pattern of munificence, dug at his own expence a canal from the vicinity of the city of Panniput, near the head of the Dooab, which extended to the suburbs of Delhi. It comprehended a tract of ninety miles in the extent, by which means the villages in the neighbourhood, and every where within its influence, received a most surprizing benefit in the cultivation of their lands.

This noble canal\* runs in a direction from north to south, and is in general about ten miles distant from the Jumna, until it joins

\* It is called by the natives NEHUR BEHEISHT, or "*canal of paradise.*"

A. D. 1795.]

GEORGE THOMAS.

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that river nine miles below the city of New Delhi. From this canal, while it existed, a revenue was produced to the royal treasury of fourteen lacks of rupees per annum. At present it is out of repair, dried up, and in many places almost destroyed; and in the hands of the Mahrattas, its present possessors, the cultivation of the adjacent country scarcely yields a lack of rupees.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Restoration to her authority of the Begum Somroo—account of Sirdhannah—death and character of Appakandarow—capture of Samli—Mr. Thomas marches to Panniput.*

RESUMING our narrative after the foregoing digression, it is necessary to remark that about this time Begum Somroo, whose deposition from authority we have before noticed, still remained a prisoner at Sirdhannah. In a manner the most abject and desponding, she addressed Mr. Thomas; she stated her apprehensions of being poisoned, or otherwise put to death; affirmed that her only dependance was on him, implored him to come to her assistance, and, finally, offered to pay any sum of money the Mahrattas should require, on condition they would reinstate her in her Jaghire.

On receipt of these letters, Mr. Thomas, by



an offer of 120,000 rupees, prevailed on Bappoo Scindia to make a movement towards Sirdhannah. Convinced from his former experience, that unless he could gain over a part of the troops under Zaffer Yab Khan to the Begum's interest, not only his exertions would be fruitless, but that she herself would be exposed to the greatest personal danger, he therefore set on foot a negotiation for this purpose, in which having succeeded, he marched and encamped with his whole force at the village of Kathoolee, eight coss to the north-east of Sirdhannah. Here Mr. Thomas publicly gave out that unless the Begum was reinstated in her authority, those who resisted must expect no mercy; and to give additional weight to this declaration, he apprised them that he was acting under the orders of the Mahratta chiefs.

This intimation was at first attended with desired effect. Part of the troops belonging to the garrison instantly mutinied, confined Zaffer Yab Kkan, and declared for the begum. Mr. Thomas, however, who well knew that no reliance could be placed on the capricious

temper of troops accustomed to frequent mutinies, lost no time in advancing to Sirdhanah, but before he reached that place, a counter-revolution had already proclaimed the restoration of Sumroo's son. *(by another wife)*

Escorted by only fifty horse of approved fidelity, Mr. Thomas entered the cantonments, having at the time he set out directed four hundred of his infantry to follow him with all possible expedition; the arrival of the latter force was particularly fortunate, as Zaffer Yab Khan, on Mr. Thomas's first appearance, perceiving him slightly attended, thought he had now got him into his power, and instructed his soldiers to threaten him with instant death; but at that moment the reinforcement above-mentioned arriving, and the mutineers thinking the whole Mahratta force was at hand, not only gave over their design, but now became as submissive as they had before been insolent.

Abandoning the cause of Somroo's son, they endeavoured, through the Begum's mediation, to deprecate the resentment of the Mahratta commanders: to this the Begum having con-

fented, an oath of fidelity was administered to the troops, and she was finally reinstated in the full authority of her Jaghire.

Somroo's son, after being plundered of his effects, was reconducted a prisoner to Delhi. Part of the sum stipulated was now paid to Bappoo Scindia, and the remainder promised. An interview took place between the Begum and the Mahratta chiefs, when every thing being amicably adjusted, the army quitting Sirdhannah repaired to their respective destinations.

The restoration of the Begum to her authority, affords us an opportunity of giving a detailed account of her Jaghire.

Sirdhannah, the residence of Begum Somroo, is the capital of a small principality, situated in the centre of the Dooab, in latitude  $29^{\circ} 10'$  north, and about thirty-five cosses distant from Delhi. This Jaghire was from early times rich and fruitful: it was first peopled by a Hindoo rajah named Sirkhut. When the famous Mahmood of Ghuzna invaded Hindoo-

stan, he settled a colony of Muffulmans in this district, and distributed lands to them in several parts of the country. When the posterity of Timoor became firmly seated on the throne of India, Sirdhannah was first attached to the province of Sehaurunpore, situated at the head of the Dooab, and at the foot of the mountains called Sewalick. In the reign of Mahmood Shah it was assigned as a Jaghire to the famous Kummur Uddeen Khan; and subsequent to that period it was held by an omrah named Yacoob Ali Khan, of the court of Alumgeer the Second.

On the death of that monarch, the province of Sehaurunpore was possessed by the Nawaub Nujuff Khan, prime minister to the present king, and he allotted Sirdhannah and its dependancy to Somroo, a German, who had been in the service of Coffim Ali Khan, the deposed subah of Bengal. This man is well known to the English by the share he bore in the dreadful catastrophe of Patna. On the death of Somroo, which happened in the year 1776, Nujuff Khan delivered over the pergunnah to his widow the present Begum, on condition of

*station*

*valley*

*Keir and*

*in the name*

*Le Somroo*

*by his fellow*

*French adventurer - he is said to have*

*committed the murder of the English prisoners at Patna with his own hand*

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her keeping up a force of three battalions of infantry for the protection of the province.

When Nujuff Khan died, the Begum still kept possession of her jaghire, from which time until the period we are speaking of, her situation has been fully detailed in recent publications.\*

The habitation of Begum Somroo is in a large and spacious inclosure, equal in many respects to a fortified town. The house is well built, and handsomely furnished, partly after the European and partly after the Hindoostany style: these blended together have a singular though not upon the whole an unpleasing appearance. Hospitable in her manner, the Begum's table is furnished with every thing the country can afford. European articles of all kinds are procured from Calcutta.

It has been the constant and invariable usage of this lady to exact from her subjects and servants the most rigid attention to the customs

\* Consult the History of Shah Aulum.

*The Delhi & Ludlow Bazaar  
at Delhi is one of the  
best in the world*

of Hindoostan. She is never seen out of doors, or in her public durbar unveiled.

Her officers and others, who have business with her, present themselves opposite the place where she sits. The front of her apartments is furnished with *chicques* or Indian screens, these being let down from the roof. In this manner she gives audience, and transacts business of all kinds. She frequently admits to her table the higher ranks of her European officers, but never admits the natives to come within the inclosure. On dinner being announced, twenty or thirty of her female attendants, most of them christians, repairing to the outer door, there receive the dishes and place them upon table; they wait on the company during the repast, which is always plentiful and well served.\*

\* Begum Somroo is about forty-five years of age, small in stature, but inclined to be plump. Her complexion is very fair, her eyes black, large, and animated; her dress perfectly Hindoostany, and of the most costly materials. She speaks the Persian and Hindoostany languages with fluency, and in her conversation is engaging, sensible, and spirited.

The Begum being thus restored to her authority, Mr. Thomas next received orders to proceed to Samli, and punish the commandant of that place for his conduct in encouraging the seiks in their intended incursions into the Dooab, and having communicated to them the defenceless state of the upper provinces.

After a fatiguing and difficult march of thirty cofs in one day, Mr. Thomas arrived before Samli.\* An action took place, in which the commandant, after a most gallant resistance, was defeated, and compelled to retreat into the town. Mr. Thomas, perceiving the

\* Samli is a large town situated near the head of the Dooab, in the province of Sehaurunpore. It is two miles in circumference, and contains many handsome houses both of brick and stone. The streets intersect each other at right angles, and have separate gates at their entrances, which at night are shut for the security of the inhabitants. At Samli is a large bazar and a mint where money used formerly to be coined. But the trade of this place, like many others in the Dooab, is now much on the decline; and, with the exception of a few coarse cloths, the manufactures are at a stand. In its present state, the villages attached to the pergunnah of Samli yield a revenue of about 50,000 rupees, though in the flourishing times of the empire it was far more considerable.

necessity of bringing this affair to a speedy conclusion, in the evening of the same day gave orders for an assault, and carried the place by storm. The commandant, his son, and most of his adherents, were cut to pieces.

Having arranged the affairs of Samli, and appointed a civil governor on the part of the Mahrattas, Mr. Thomas repaired to the camp of Bappoo Scindia, with whom, by order of Appakandarow, he now acted in concert.

Bappoo Scindia, when joined by Mr. Thomas, was employed in the reduction of Lucnowty, a place of considerable strength. A practicable breach being effected, preparations were made for storming; when the commandant, seeing he was likely to be unsuccessful in defending the fort, to save a further effusion of blood, came privately to Mr. Thomas's tent, and there made terms for the delivery of the place, which, on the ensuing morning, were performed with punctuality.

A circumstance now arose which had considerable effect not only with regard to the im-



mediate situation of Mr. Thomas's affairs, but in changing the future fortune of his eventful life.

Two days previous to the reduction of Samli, he received a letter from Appakandarow, in which that chief informed Mr. Thomas, that from continued illness his pains were augmented to a degree which had now become intolerable, and no hopes appearing of recovery from the cruel distemper under which he laboured, he had determined to put a period to his misery by a voluntary death! For this purpose he was on his way to the Ganges, but requested of Mr. Thomas to come and see him once more before the scene was closed for ever.

On receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Thomas set out immediately to meet, and, if possible, afford consolation to his desponding chief; but he had not advanced far, when the melancholy intelligence reached him of Appakandarow's having voluntarily drowned himself in the river Jumna.

Such was the end of Appakandarow, a chief

intrepid and enterprising, who, amid the transactions of later times, and the various revolutions of Mahratta politics in Hindoostan, had borne an active and distinguished part.

The death of Appa was on several accounts unfavourable to Mr. Thomas's interests. Vavon Row, his nephew and successor, was a youth vain and inexperienced, and better adapted to the life of an accomptant than that of a general.

Instigated by the suggestions of persons who surrounded him, the incautious youth was persuaded to demand restitution from Mr. Thomas of the districts which had been given him by his uncle, as an honorable reward for the services he had performed. Agreeably to this resolution, he had the weakness to order his troops to take possession of the districts in question.

Mr. Thomas, indignant at a conduct he so little merited, peremptorily refused compliance with the order. He represented to that chief, by letter, the impropriety of his present proceeding; declared his firm resolution to main-

tain possession of the districts; pointed out to him the fatal effects that must necessarily arise to both parties if the quarrel was pursued further; and, finally, for the sake of peace, and to prevent future disagreements, acquainted Vavan Row that he was willing to pay a sum of money if left in quiet possession.

These remonstrances, however founded on reason or justice, were of no avail: Vavon Row would listen to no terms but the implicit cession of the whole. The matter could therefore only be decided by an appeal to the sword.

On Mr. Thomas's arrival at Hoffellee, a large village forming part of his possessions, he perceived it in the hands of the enemy; and Vavon Row, prepared to defend it, encamped under the walls of the fort.

Unwilling to push matters to an extremity, if by any means it could be avoided, Mr. Thomas drew off his force to a small distance, and gave particular orders to his own people to forbear all acts of hostility on their part. This mode of conduct was of no avail; for the

troops of Vavon Row coming daily from their own camp, insulted and fired upon Mr. Thomas's men, by which several of them were feverely wounded.

The enemy, reinforced by a large body of the peasantry, and headed by the zemindars of their respective villages, were now become so formidable, that Mr. Thomas resolved to bring the business to an issue. He accordingly attacked them. The affair was quickly decided; the enemy fled in all directions; and the greater part, having taken shelter in the fort of Kuffollee, were followed by Mr. Thomas, who immediately commenced the siege of that place. Having erected batteries, he ordered the grates for heating shot to be got in readiness; which being done, he fired so successfully with red-hot shot, that he quickly compelled them to surrender at discretion.

It was now agreed that an interview betwixt Mr. Thomas and Vavon Row should take place at Kanord, whither the former had marched for that purpose. On his arrival, however, Vavon Row, pretending to be fearful

of treachery, refused to come out of the fort; and Mr. Thomas, for similar reasons, was unwilling to enter it. The negotiations were therefore broken off; and Mr. Thomas, continuing to consider this Mahratta chief as an enemy, led his troops toward the frontiers.

This measure was rendered more necessary, and his attention called to the defence of his northern purgunnahs, which had recently been invaded by the seiks.

But the mention of this remarkable people, leading us aside for a while from the ordinary course of our narrative, invites a detail of the present state of the Punjaub, or country situated between the Indus and the Sutledge.

## CHAPTER V.

*Geographical description of the Punjab,—of the  
seiks, their manners, customs, forces, and re-  
sources.*

THE extensive and fertile country described by Arrian and other antient historians, as comprehended within the five great rivers, the Hydaspes, the Hydraötes, the Acesines, the Hyphasis, and the Sutledge, is, by modern geographers, denominated Punjab.

On the north it is bounded by the mountains inhabited by the tribe called Yoosuf Zey; on the east by the mountains of Naun, Serinnaghur and Jumbo; on the west by the river Sind or Attock;\* and on the south by the districts of Panniput, and the province of Harriannah. It is two hundred and fifty cosses from

\* This river above the city of Attock is called by the natives Aba Seen.

north to south, and nearly one hundred from east to west. Notwithstanding the state of warfare in which the chiefs of Punjab are constantly involved, the country is in a state of high cultivation; and though the population be great, grain is cheaper than in any other part of India. This advantage in a great measure is derived from the numerous rivers by which it is watered. Advancing from the south, a traveller meets in rapid succession the Serfooty, the Cugger, the Chowah, and the Sutledge.

The Serfooty, after passing the towns of Moostufabad, Shahabad, and Tehnasser, and overflowing the country on each of its banks, joins itself to the Cugger to the north-west of Kaythul.

The Cugger, on the contrary, after passing the towns of Bunnoor, Seyfabad, Puttialah, Jowhana, and Jomalpore, enters the country of the Batties at the town of Arwah, formerly the capital of the district. The Chowah, in like manner, after passing through an extensive tract of country which it fertilizes and enriches, is finally lost in the sands of Sonaum.

The Punjab yields to no part of India in fertility of soil ; it produces in the greatest abundance, sugar-cane, wheat, barley, rice, pulse of all sorts, tobacco, and various fruits ; and it is also well supplied with cattle. The principal manufactures of this country are swords, match-locks, cotton cloths, and silks both coarse and fine.

This nation, if united, could bring into the field from fifty to sixty thousand cavalry, but it is Mr. Thomas's opinion that they will never unite or be so formidable to their neighbours as they have heretofore been. Internal commotions and civil strife have of late years generated a spirit of revenge and disunion among the chiefs, which it will take a long time to overcome.

The number of cavalry which it is supposed this nation was able to assemble has been considerably over-rated, in consequence of a custom which formerly obtained among the Seiks, of forming an association of their forces under a particular chief. From this association of their forces they had the general interests of the community in view. To those who were ig-



norant of the secret causes of the association, this junction of forces was frequently mistaken for the army of an individual; and this error was perhaps increased by the natural partiality of the Seiks themselves to magnify the force and enhance the character of their own nation.

It has been remarked, that the Seiks are able to collect from fifty to sixty thousand horse; but, to render this number effective, those who do not take the field, or who remain at home to guard their possessions, must be included.

Estimating the force of the different districts, the aggregate will be seen in the subjoined schedule.\*

	<i>Cavalry.</i>
* The districts south of the Sutledge, -	15,000
The Dooab, or country between the Sutledge and Beyah, - - -	8,000
Between the Beyah and Rowce, - - -	11,000
Force of Bugheel Sing, chief of Pattialah, -	12,000
The countries above Lahore, the inhabitants of which are chiefly under the influence of Runjeet Sing, - - -	11,000
To which may be added the force of Nizamudeen Khan, - - -	5,000
Roy Elias, - - -	1,300
Other Patan chiefs, in pay of the Seiks, -	800
Grand total -	64,000

By this statement it will appear that the entire force of this nation, exclusive of the district held by Zemaun Shah, eastward of the Attock,\* can amount to no more than sixty-four thousand men, and of these two-thirds might probably take the field, were a chief of experience and enterprize to appear amongst them; but this in Mr. Thomas's opinion is highly improbable. The chief of most consequence at present is Runjeet Sing: he having possession of Lahore, which may be termed the capital of the Punjab, has acquired a decided ascendancy over the other chiefs, though he be frequently in a state of warfare with his neighbours who inhabit that part of the country situated between the Beyah and the Rawee. This chief is deemed by the natives as the most powerful among them. He possesses one thousand horse, which are his own property.

The repeated invasion of the Punjab by small armies, of late years, affords a convincing proof that the national force of the seiks cannot be

\* These districts are computed to reach from Sirhind to the banks of that river.

so formidable as has been represented. Several instances occur in support of this assertion. Not many years since, Dara Row Scindia invaded it at the head of ten thousand men; though not more than six thousand of that number deserved the name of troops, the remainder being a despicable rabble. Though joined on his march by two chiefs, Buggeel Sing and Kurrum Sing, he was at length opposed by Sahib Sing, the chief of Fyzealpore. That chief was encamped under the walls of Kussoor,\* having the river Cugger in his front; was defeated in an engagement, and the ensuing day the fort surrendered. Sahib Sing then agreed to pay the Mahrattas a sum of money, and most of the chiefs south of the Sutledge having by this time submitted to Dara Row, opposition was at an end.

It was successively invaded by the armies of Ambajee, Bala Row, and Nana Furkiah, who drove the seiks repeatedly before them.

In 1800 Mr. Thomas himself entered their country at the head of five thousand troops and

\* Kussoor, a fort south of the river Sutledge.

IN  
sixty pieces of artillery; and though by the instigation of enemies, who promised them assistance, the chiefs south of the Sutledge and in the Dooab (or country between the two rivers\*) combined against him, yet he penetrated as far as the Sutledge. During that campaign he never saw more than ten thousand Seiks in one army: he remained in their country six months, two of which were passed without competition, and he finally compelled them to purchase peace.

Of late years the rajah of Serinnagur has likewise made some conquests in Punjab, chiefly between the Beyah and the Sutledge; and Nizamuddeen Khan, the patan before mentioned, has also acquired territory yielding a revenue of three lacks of rupees per annum.

The Seiks, though united, have never made any considerable opposition against the force of Zemaun Shah, who has frequently attacked them; but it may be urged, that a great difference is to be expected from a formidable

\* The Beyah and the Sutledge.

army of sixty thousand men, led on by the Shah in person, and the princes of the blood, compared with the detached bodies already described. Hence it would appear that this nation is not so formidable as they have been represented, and in all probability they never will be formidable when opposed by regular troops.

The Seiks are armed with a spear, matchlock, and scymetar. Their method of fighting, as described by Mr. Thomas, is singular: after performing the requisite duties of their religion by ablution and prayer, they comb their hair and beards with peculiar care; then mounting their horses, ride forth towards the enemy, with whom they engage in a continued skirmish, advancing and retreating until man and horse become equally fatigued. They then draw off to some distance from the enemy, and meeting with cultivated ground, they permit their horses to graze of their own accord, while they parch a little gram for themselves; and after satisfying nature by this frugal repast, if the enemy be near, they renew the skirmishing. Should he have retreated they provide forage

for their cattle, and endeavour to procure a meal for themselves.

Seldom indulging in the comforts of a tent, whilst in the enemy's country, the repast of a feik cannot be supposed to be either sumptuous or elegant. Seated on the ground with a mat spread before them, a bramin, appointed for the purpose, serves out a portion of food to each individual, the cakes of flour which they eat during the meal serving them in the room of dishes and plates.\*

The feiks are remarkably fond of the flesh

\* Does not this circumstance recall our ideas to the situation of *Æneas* and his companions, shortly after their landing on the coast of Italy? The condition of *Æneas* exhibits a specimen of primeval simplicity of manners among the Romans, no less singular than the coincidence of customs existing in Punjab at the present day appears strikingly interesting.

Consumtis hic forte aliis, ut vertere morsus  
Exiguam in Cererem penuria adegit edendi,  
Et violare manu malisq. audacibus orbem  
Fatalis crusti, patulis nec parcere quadris,  
Heus! etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus.

*Virg. Æn. lib. 7.*

of the jungle hog, which they kill in the chase: this food is allowable by their law. They likewise eat of mutton and fish; but these being deemed unlawful the bramins will not partake, leaving those who chuse to transgress their institutes to answer for themselves. In the city or in the field the seiks never smoke tobacco: they are not, however, averse to drinking spirituous liquors, in which they sometimes indulge to an immoderate excess; and they likewise freely take opium, bang, and other intoxicating drugs. In their convivial parties each man is compelled to drink out of his own vessel.

Accustomed from their earliest infancy to a life of hardship and difficulty, the seiks despise the comforts of a tent; in lieu of this, each horseman is furnished with two blankets, one for himself and the other for his horse. These blankets, which are placed beneath the saddle, with a gram bag and heel ropes, comprize, in time of war, the baggage of a seik. Their cooking utensils are carried on tattoos. Considering this mode of life, and the extraordinary rapidity of their movements, it cannot be

matter of wonder if they perform marches, which, to those who are only accustomed to European warfare, must appear almost incredible.

The Seiks, among other customs singular in their nature, never suffer their hair or beards to be cut: consequently, when mounted on horseback, their black flowing locks and half-naked bodies, which are formed in the stoutest and most athletic mould, the glittering of their arms, and the size and speed of their horses, render their appearance imposing and formidable, and superior to most of the cavalry of Hindoostan.

In the use of their arms, especially the matchlock and sabre, they are uncommonly expert; some use bows and arrows. In addition to the articles of dress which have been described in recent publications \* of the times, Mr. Thomas mentions that the arms and wrists of the Seiks are decorated with bangles of gold, silver, brass, and iron, according to the circum-

\* Consult the History of Shah Aulum.



stances of the wearers; but among the chiefs of the respective tribes, the horse-furniture, in which they take the greatest pride (and which, with the exception of the inlaying of their fire-arms, is their luxury), is uncommonly splendid; for, though a seik will scruple to expend the most trifling sum on his food or clothing, he will spare no expence in endeavouring to excel his comrades in the furniture of his horse, and in the richness and brightness of his armour; a circumstance which appears to bear no inconsiderable resemblance to the customs of the ancient Spartans.\*

Considerable similarity in their general customs may be traced with those of the Jauts. Though these in some districts apparently vary, the difference is not material; and their permitting an interchange of marriages with the Jauts of the Dooab and Harrianah, amounts almost to a conclusive proof of their affinity of origin.

The Seiks allow foreigners of every description to join their standard, to sit in their com-

\* See Cornelius Nepos, and Pausanias.

pany, and to shave their beards; but, excepting in the instance of the Jauts, they will not consent to intermarriages; nor will they eat or drink from the hands of an alien, except he be a bramin, and for this cast they always profess the highest veneration.

If, indeed, some regulations which are in their nature purely military, and which were introduced by their founder Nanick, be excepted, it will be found that the Seiks are neither more or less than Jauts in their primitive state.

Thus far, says Mr. Thomas, we have seen the fair side of the picture; let us now consider the reverse.—The Seiks are false, fangui-nary, and faithless; they are addicted to plunder, and the acquirement of wealth by any means, however nefarious. Instances have occurred of a child's arm being raised against his parent, and of brothers destroying each other.

Women amongst them are held in little estimation, and though ill treated by their

husbands, and prohibited from accompanying them in their wars, these unhappy females nevertheless attend to their domestic concerns with a diligence and sedulousness deserving of a better fate.

Instances, indeed, have not unfrequently occurred, in which they have actually taken up arms to defend their habitations from the desultory attacks of the enemy, and throughout the contest behaved themselves with an intrepidity of spirit highly praiseworthy.

In the seik army, the modes of payment are various: but the most common is at the time of harvest, when every foldier receives the amount of his pay in grain and other articles, the produce of the country; to some is given money in small sums, and to others lands are allotted for their maintenance. Three-fifths of the horses of the Punjab are the property of the different chieftains: the remainder belong to the peasantry who have become settlers.

A seik foldier has also his portion of the plunder acquired in the course of a campaign: this is set aside as a reward for his services; and

in addition to it, he sometimes increases his gain by secreting part of the public plunder.

The nature of the seik government is singular, and probably had its origin in the unsettled state of the tribe when first established in their possessions. Within his own domains each chief is lord paramount. He exerts an exclusive authority over his vassals, even to the power of life and death; and to increase the population of his districts, he proffers a ready and hospitable asylum to fugitives from all parts of India. Hence, in the seik territories, though the government be arbitrary, there exists much less cause for oppression than in many of the neighbouring states; and hence likewise, the cultivator of the soil being liable to frequent change of masters, by the numerous revolutions that are perpetually occurring, may be considered as one of the causes of the fluctuation of the national force.\*

\* In the above sketch of the situation and resources of the seik nation, Mr. Thomas does not include the territories of Zemaun Shah lying east of the Attock; part of which were, during the reigns of the emperors, included in the Punjab, and may therefore be considered as belonging to it.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Mr. Thomas defeats the Seiks—concludes an advantageous treaty—disagreement with Bappoo Scindia—Mr. Thomas forms the design of establishing himself as an independant chief—for that purpose selects the province of Hurrianah—his establishment at Hansi.*

SUCH was the tribe against which Mr. Thomas now prepared to march. Leaving a force competent to the defence of Jyjur, which he expected would be attacked by Vavon Row, he marched to Karnâl, near which the Seiks lay.

Four successive actions took place, attended with considerable loss on both sides; Mr. Thomas having lost five hundred men, and the Seiks double that number. Both parties inclining to peace, a treaty was concluded, by which the Seiks agreed to evacuate the province, which was accordingly done.

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As Mr. Thomas had foreseen, he now received intelligence of Vavon Row having laid siege to Jyjur, to defend which he immediately marched back. On his approach, Vavon Row thought proper to retire. Mr. Thomas next determined to punish Cashmiree Bolee, who, as before stated, had been the author and fomentor of all the differences which had occurred betwixt him and Vavon Row. Mr. Thomas, therefore, fell suddenly on the pergunnah of Daderee, which belonged to Cashmiree Bolee, and laid it under contribution.

From hence he was called away to assist Bapoo Scindia against a body of Rohillas, who, instigated by Nevil Sing, a seik chief, had crossed the Ganges, and invaded his possessions near the head of the Dooab. But previous to Mr. Thomas's arrival, the Mahratta chief had not only defeated the invaders, but followed up his blow by laying siege to the enemy's capital.

A body of Seiks had assembled to assist him; but, on the approach of Mr. Thomas's force, thought proper to separate; and Bapoo Scin-

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dia, not deeming the capture of this fort worth the trouble it would take to gain possession, of his own accord soon after raised the siege, and returned to Scharunpore. Mr. Thomas remained with his force at Soneput, a city twenty-six miles south of Panniput, the neighbouring country, barren and desolate.

North of this city is a mausoleum erected by Khizzer Khan, a Patan nobleman, descended from the royal family of Sheer Shah. This building is an octagon, surmounted by a spacious dome, and ornamented at the top with a cullis of copper gilt. The interior of the mausoleum is of grey stone, the cornices are embellished with sculpture ornaments of red freestone, and around the lower part of the dome runs a stone border, on which are engraved verses from the Koran in Arabic characters. The front of the building is decorated with roses cut in freestone, of a brown colour; the whole uncommonly delicate, and has been finished with more than usual attention.

The pergunnah of Soneput composes part of the Jaghire of Desmouk, son-in-law of Scin-

dia, and yields an income of seventy-five thousand rupees. But in the reign of the emperor Mahomed Shah, this pergunnah, in consequence of the benefit it derived from its vicinity to the noble canal of Ali Merdan Khan, is said to have yielded a revenue of nine lacks of rupees.

In the environs of Soneput, a traveller first meets with the *cofs minar*, or Indian mile-stone. It is a round pillar of brick, ten feet in height, and placed on each side of the road, at the distance of about three English miles from each other. They were erected by order of the emperor Jehan Gheer, and formerly extended from Lahor to Agra. Adjoining to each of these pillars is a well, lined with brick, near which are stone benches expressly for the accommodation of travellers.

Mr. Thomas had not long remained at Soneput, when rumours of the arrival of Zemaun Shah, king of Cabul, at Lahore, induced Bappoo to meet and consult with him on the present emergency.



Mr. Thomas accordingly repaired to Bappoo; but his troops having again fallen in arrears, were become clamorous for payment: this conduct giving offence to Bappoo, a misunderstanding took place between him and Mr. Thomas, when the latter in disgust marched away.

He was soon after attacked by Bappoo's force, who, on hearing of the retreat of the shah, had determined on punishing Mr. Thomas for what he termed his late misbehaviour. An action ensued; but the commander of Bappoo's troops being wounded in the conflict, he thought proper to remove to a distance.

An amicable arrangement between the parties would now have taken place, had not the Seiks in Bappoo's army, aware of Mr. Thomas's intention to enter the Punjab, used their utmost exertions to widen the difference. Hostilities being again renewed, an action took place at the passage of the Jumna; and though the country people had by this time joined the Mahrattas, Mr. Thomas, by a spirited attack, compelled them to leave him a free passage.

Straitened for provisions, he proceeded on his route to the north-east frontier. In his retreat, he was followed by Bappoo's army; and the troops of Begum Somroo, as also those of Ragojee, governor of Delhi, had now increased the number of his enemies.

Over this combined force, however, he proved victorious; and having defeated the enemy in every attempt to interrupt him on his march, he at length reached the neighbourhood of Panniput. Here, on account of his inferiority in force, he was compelled for the present not only to relinquish the frontier towns, but to confine himself to Jyjur. Thither he shortly after arrived. Unable to satisfy the demands of his troops, Mr. Thomas now determined to levy contributions on the territories of his neighbours. For this purpose he led his army to Oreecha, a large and populous town belonging to the rajah of Jypore.

As a ransom for this place, Mr. Thomas demanded of the governor a lack of rupees; which being denied, he stormed and took possession of the city. The fort, which was separate, still

holding out, he was on the point of making a second assault, when the killadâr agreed to ransom both for fifty-two thousand rupees. During the negotiations the town had unfortunately been set on fire; which burnt so fiercely, that it was with difficulty extinguished, and not until goods to the amount of several lacks of rupees had been totally consumed.

About this time a reconciliation was effected betwixt Mr. Thomas and Vavon Row, when it was agreed to adjust all former differences; and Mr. Thomas, to evince the reconciliation was on his part sincere, brought under obedience to Vavon Row several refractory zemindars. He now entered the Jypore country the second time; and the Mcenas, a thievish tribe inhabiting a part of the country on his route, about thirty coss north of Jypore, having formerly invaded Vavon Row's possessions, Mr. Thomas attacked them in force, and in a very short time annihilated this nest of banditti. After these transactions, Mr. Thomas returned to Jyjur.

At this place, about the middle of the year

1798, he first formed the eccentric and arduous design of erecting an independant principality for himself. The country of Hurrianah, which, from the troubled state of the times, had for many years acknowledged no master, but became in turn the prey of each succeeding invader, appeared to him as best adapted for the execution of his purpose.

The scarcity of water, however, in this part of India, induced Mr. Thomas to postpone his intended expedition until the approach of the rainy season. Having reinforced his army, and being well provided with every thing necessary to ensure success, he commenced his march,

His first attack was directed against the town and fort of Kanhoree, the inhabitants of which place were notorious for their thievish depredations. Advancing with celerity, Mr. Thomas, according to his usual custom, attempted to carry the place by storm. In this, however, he was not only prevented by the spirited conduct of the enemy, but compelled to retreat with the loss of three hundred of his men.

In consequence of this severe check, it became necessary to fortify his camp; and the constant and heavy rains which now fell preventing his erecting batteries, he fortified a chain of posts round the town, and thereby prevented any succour from without.

The garrison he well knew was straitened for provisions; and the siege, thus converted into a blockade, augmented their distress. The enemy, by frequent sallies, endeavoured to interrupt Mr. Thomas's operations. In one of these, an attack was made on the redoubt occupied by himself. In the confusion attendant on a business of this nature, the greater part of his people, being panic-struck, ran away. Mr. Thomas was thus reduced to a situation truly critical: five men only remained with him of the infantry, to whom had been allotted the particular charge of his fire-arms, consisting of pistols and blunderbusses of a large size. With these, and the assistance of a few horsemen, who had likewise adhered to him, he maintained the post for a considerable time against every effort of the enemy; and at

length, by repeated and well-directed discharges, compelled them to retreat.

A few days after this occurrence, the weather becoming more favourable, and Mr. Thomas having rallied the fugitives, erected a battery, from which he fired with such good effect, as to bring down a considerable part of the wall; but night intervening before he could prepare for storming, the assault was delayed until the ensuing day. It was however rendered unnecessary by the enemy's having evacuated the town during the night.

The best and bravest men of Hurrianah being in this town, Mr. Thomas reduced the other places with but little resistance. In a short time he gained complete possession of the whole south part of the province; but the north-western part being occupied by the Batties, the rajah of Pattyalah, and other feik chieftains, it cost him considerable time and much trouble to establish his authority as far as the river Cauggur.

The successful termination of this campaign,



Territories of the

Ranvee R.  
LAHORE the Capital  
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Former supposed Course of the Cugger River.

Here the Cugger River is lost in the Sande

Border of the Desert thus far Capable of Cultivation

DESERT of about 60 COSS from EAST to WEST

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The Nurduck Count

Rajepoots

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Southern Bank of the River Rancee including the Districts of Haryana & Bykaner.

Mr GEORGE THOMAS

1802.

William Sturgeson, Capt. of Infantry.

SCALE of English Miles.

Remarks.

- Place belonging to George Thomas
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- D<sup>o</sup> The Saks
- D<sup>o</sup> The Jeypoor Rajah
- D<sup>o</sup> The Bikaner Rajah
- D<sup>o</sup> The Batters

JB. The case in Punjab, Delhi & Agre Districts in no place was more than one mile & a half but in the Rajepoot Territories it is at least Two Miles.

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affords us an opportunity of presenting a detailed account of the country possessed by Mr. Thomas; with some relative observations on the nature and quality of the soil, and on the general character of its inhabitants.

In the district called Hurrianah, ninety miles to the north-west of Delhi, is the country of Mr. George Thomas. It extends eighty coss from north to south, and the same distance from east to west. To the northward it is bounded by the possessions of Sahig Sing, chief of Puttialah, on the north-west by the Batties, west by the dominions of Beykaneer, and south by Jypore, south-east by the pergunnah of Dadaree, east by the districts adjoining to Delhi, and north-east by the cities of Rhotuck and Panniput. That part of the country more immediately occupied by Mr. Thomas, is in shape nearly oval, and extends from sixteen to twenty-four coss\* in different directions. The northern boundary is formed by the river Cauggur, beyond which are the seik territories. To the south it is bounded by the town of Behal,

\* Consult the map.

east by Mahim, and west by Behadra, containing in all eight hundred villages.

Within this tract of country, as in most parts of Hurrianah, water is scarce, more especially during the hot season. To remedy this inconvenience, the inhabitants have constructed wells of considerable depth, not unfrequently from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty feet.

In addition to this each district has two or three tanks faced with stone. These afford a plentiful supply of water until the approach of the hot winds of the ensuing season, when they are dried up. The number of wells differ according to the industry of the respective inhabitants. At Hissâr, for instance, are three hundred; at Hansi, thirty; at Mahim, one hundred; Tuhana has only six; and some of the smaller towns from two to five. In this country the Cauggur river is of the greatest service to the inhabitants. It is overflowed during the rainy season by the accession of the streams which issue from the mountains; and on the retiring of the waters, leaves, like the

waters of the Nile, a rich and greasy earth, which yields an abundant crop of the finest wheat. Other parts of Mr. Thomas's possessions produce joar, rice, bajerah, and various sorts of pulse, chunah, and barley; but the latter depends on the rain that may fall from the month of October to Christmas. Within the aforementioned tract, the pasturage is uncommonly luxuriant, and produces perhaps the largest supply of forage to be met with in any part of Asia. The grass in Hurrianah is also of a very superior quality, both as to wholesomeness and nourishment. Hence the cattle excel those of other parts. The climate is in general salubrious; though, when the sandy and desert country lying to the westward becomes heated, it is inimical to an European constitution.

The *peyook*, or Guinea-worm, so common in several parts of Arabia and Persia, is likewise extremely troublesome in this province. To some it proves dangerous; though it is remarked by Mr. Thomas, this disorder seldom attacks Europeans, and is in general confined to the peasantry of the country.

The Peyook, or Guinea worm, the *dracunculus persarum* of Kœmpfer,\* is found chiefly on the shores of the Persian gulf, and in the southern parts of Persia; more especially in the province of Carmania, and on the island of Ormuz. The origin and progress of the disorder occasioned by this singular worm, is described by Kœmpfer in his *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, with so much accuracy and spirit, that we hope to be pardoned in presenting our readers with an extract from this valuable work, which, it is much to be regretted, has not hitherto been given to our countrymen in an English dress.†

\* Vide Kœmpfer's *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, Fasciculus 3d, Observatio 4th, p. 529.

† In lucem prodituri nuncia plerumque est febricula, ut plurimum ephemera, non nunquam in tertiam diem protracta, cum fetæ partis rubidine et tumore; in quo postridie exsurgit postula pisi magnitudine, tenera, aquosa, pelucida, non raro atricolor: qua post unum aut alterum diem spontè ruptâ vel acu apertâ, prosilit lumbrici summus apex, sive rostellum, ibidem hactenus absconditum, quod pedetentim et reliquum corpus undecunque subsequitur, blandâ attractione quotidie sollicitatum. Sæpè etiam non nisi præviô partis dolore, et duritiæ vix sensibili nascitur; rupto ibidem, quo perpetuo sibi viam parat, ul-

The natives of Hurrianah for a succession of ages having been in a constant state of warfare,

cusculo, sine epidermidis pustula. Excretio pro lumbrici magnitudine et maturitate citiori, tum pro situ et loco generationis vario, faciliior est aut difficilior, longior aut brevior: raro autem pariter et vivus, frequentissime successivo tempore, diebus circiter decem, extrahitur. Omnium felicissime egreditur, qui in scroti cavo absconditur, nam hunc, barba exerta, vivum illico educimus, sine dolore et purulenti ulceris incommodo. Supra musculum aliquem in crure aut brachio non admodum dispersus jacens, vel in gyrum volutus, qualis oculo et tactu deprehenditur, intra paucos dies, a quo maturare incipit, sine notabili pure et molestia, quin vel uno interdum nisu extrahitur. Ex femore et ulnis plerumque facili partu exit, diebus admodum paucis. Sita vago ligamenta pedis involvens admodum difficulter, mora videlicet viginti vel amplius dierum, excluditur, cum tabo quotidie copiosissime magnoque ægroti tum dolore et incommodo.

The time when the worm is about to appear, is indicated by slight feverish symptoms in the patient; it is sometimes protracted until the third day, when the part is affected by a red tumor, which on the ensuing day becomes a pustule of a bright black: this breaking of itself, or being pierced with a needle, the head or snout of the worm makes its appearance, and as quickly withdraws itself from the touch. To extract the worm, great patience and caution are necessary, as from unskilfulness in handling it frequently breaks, which not only causes acute pain to

possess great personal bravery; they are expert in the use of arms, particularly in the exercise

the patient, but the part remaining degenerates into an incurable ulcer. The time necessary for extracting this worm is longer or shorter, according to its size, but it is seldom taken out entire before the expiration of ten days. It sometimes lies dispersed above a muscle, at other times it is found in the interstices of the muscles of the legs and arms, or convoluted; it is laid hold of with an armed needle. A few days from the time in which it begins to mature it may be extracted without pain or any considerable discharge of matter, except when it is withdrawn by a first attempt. From the thighs and arm-pits it makes an easy exit within a few days: when it appears among the tendons of the feet, great delay is experienced. It takes up twenty days in the operation, which is moreover attended with a copious discharge of matter, and severe pain to the patient.

The general mode adopted in India for the extraction of this worm, is by means of a small round piece of bamboo, to which is attached a thread. This being fixed to the worm, so much of the thread is wound round the body as to prevent its retiring again within the flesh. In this state it remains until the ensuing day, when a little more is added to the former, until the whole is extracted. By this curious process, it is easy to be perceived the extreme care that is necessary to prevent its breaking.

Travellers have at various times been afflicted with this disorder; for myself I never experienced it, though it was



of the lance, sabre, and the matchlock;\* but though brave, they are in disposition cruel, treacherous, and vindictive; and when engaged in domestic quarrels, scruple not to kill their antagonist on the slightest and most trivial occasions.

For his capital, Mr. Thomas selected the town of Hanfi;† this place is situate ninety

common to the inhabitants of Persia, during my residence in that country, many years since. The spirited and intelligent Bruce got it after his return from Abyssinia to Grand Cairo. In like manner this worm is extracted from the negroes on the coast of Africa, who attribute the cause of this complaint to the badness of the water.

\* Mr. Thomas adduced several instances of their desperate resolution, and almost invincible courage, once against the celebrated Ismaul Beg, at the town of Bhowanny, and a second time against the attacks of Gopaul Row, the Mah-ratta general. The army of the latter was defeated at Sanghee, after an unsuccessful siege of forty days.

In an assault against the fort of Deighle, Appakandarow, though attended by a select and well-appointed army, was repulsed with considerable loss.

† The subjoined schedule contains an account tolerably accurate of the country held by Mr. Thomas, including the

miles north-west of Delhi, and nearly in the centre of his newly-acquired domains. The town standing upon a hill is peculiarly well adapted to a permanent residence.

No water can be procured within seven coss, but the garrison have an ample supply of that

names of the separate pergunnahs, the number of villages formerly inhabited, compared with its present state; the revenues, bearings, and distances of each pergunnah being taken from Hansi, the capital.

Pergunnahs.	Former number of villages.	Number of villages now inhabited.	Former Revenue.	Present Revenue.	Coss : bearing and distance from Hansi.
Hansi, - -	84	32	2,50,000	60,000	Coss,
Benwala, - -	46	11	63,000	11,000	14 N.
Tohana, - -	74	26	1,20,000	25,000	34 N.
Jemaulpore, - -	70	16	1,10,000	70,000	36 N. N. W.
Augrowa, - -	44	3	70,000	3,000	24 N. W.
Hassar, - -	250	13	3,00,000	10,000	12 W.
Bahra, - -	24	18	40,000	12,000	30 W. S. W.
Seedmuck, - -	70	4	30,000	6,000	24 S. W.
Sevance, - -	70	11	50,000	14,000	24 S.W. by S.
Tefam, - -	74	18	70,000	16,000	12 S.
Maheem, - -	24	16	50,000	23,000	16 E. S. E.
Safydoo, - -	24	8	30,000	10,000	36 E. N. E.
Jaind, - -	72	66	2,00,000	70,000	18 E. N. E.
Casohan, - -	24	11	50,000	16,000	24 N. E.
	950	253	14,30,000	2,86,000	
Held by Mr. G. Thomas of the Mahrattas.					
Jager, - -	250	90	3,00,000	80,000	40 E. S. E.
Byree, - -	24	16	30,000	14,000	35 E. S. E.
Maundotee, - -	24	11	30,000	10,000	44 E.
Pathoda, - -	4	4	1,00,000	10,000	51 S. E.
Badlee, - -	72	30	1,20,000	1,20,000	48 E. S. E.
Total	374	151	5,80,000	1,44,000	
Grand Total	1324	404	20,10,000	4,30,000	



necessary article from several wells within the fort. This circumstance renders difficult an attack, except at the season of the periodical rains. "Here," says Mr. Thomas, with that energy and spirited animation which distinguished him throughout the scenes of his extraordinary life, "I established my capital, "rebuilt the walls of the city, long since fallen "into decay, and repaired the fortifications. "As it had been long deserted, at first I found "difficulty in procuring inhabitants, but by "degrees and gentle treatment I selected "between five and six thousand persons, to "whom I allowed every lawful indulgence.

"I established a mint, and coined my own "rupees, which I made current in my army "and country; as from the commencement "of my career at Jyjur, I had resolved to "establish an independency, I employed work- "men and artificers of all kinds, and I now "judged that nothing but force of arms could "maintain me in my authority. I therefore "increased their numbers, cast my own artillery, commenced making musquets, match- "locks, and powder; and, in short, made the

“ best preparations for carrying on an offen-  
“ five and defensive war; till at length having  
“ gained a capital and country bordering on  
“ the Seik territories, I wished to put myself  
“ in a capacity, when a favorable opportunity  
“ should offer, of attempting the conquest of  
“ the Punjab, and aspired to the honour of  
“ planting the British standard on the banks  
“ of the Attock.”\*

\* To carry his plans into effect, and for the support of his troops, Mr. Thomas appropriated a part of the revenue arising from the lands granted by the Mahrattas, and with much judgment and discernment, naturally inherent in liberal minds, endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his men by granting pensions to the widows and children or nearest relations of those soldiers who fell in his service. These pensions, amounting to 40,000 rupees per annum, were regularly paid to the respective claimants, a mode which reflects the highest credit on Mr. Thomas's character, but which had long since been anticipated by the wisdom of the British government in rewarding their veteran sepoys. The payments were made every six months, and the nearest relation of the deceased, whether officer or soldier, received the half pay of his rank. This and the expence of casting cannon, the fabrication of small arms, and purchase of warlike stores, consumed that part of Mr. Thomas's revenues which he derived from the districts granted him by the Mahrattas, as detailed in the foregoing schedule.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Reflections.—Mr. Thomas resolves to invade the Jypoor territory.—Geographical and statistical account of that country.—Revenues, history, manners and customs of the inhabitants.*

HAVING accompanied Mr. Thomas through a series of services, as interesting in their nature as singular in their result; having beheld him from the situation of a fugitive, a friendless and deserted object, now by the force of his own exertions, and an intrepidity of spirit scarcely to be paralleled, obtain a situation seldom equalled by the most fortunate; we must next proceed to trace the causes and describe the progress of those events which led to a decline of his authority, and in the end, as the only means of safety and escape from the persecution of numerous and inveterate foes, compelled him to seek an asylum in the territories of his native sovereign.

Not however to anticipate the order of events, it will now be necessary to recur to Mr. Thomas's situation when in possession of his newly acquired country. His mind having been long intent on the reduction of the Punjab, he would now have set out on this interesting expedition, but on a review of his troops made for the purpose, he found his force insufficient to the task, and was therefore induced to have recourse to an excursion into the Jypore dominions, which had hitherto afforded a never-failing supply to his necessities, and whose ruler was in consequence become his bitter enemy.

The situation of the Jypore dominions, and their relative importance among the states of Rajpootana, will justify a detail of the strength and internal resources of this interesting country. The dominions of Jypore are nearly one hundred fofs from north to south, and fifty from east to west; they are bounded on the north by the district of Hurrianah, on the north-east by Alvar, east by Karolee and Bhurtpoor, south by Kota, Boondée and Mewar, south-west by Kishenghur, west by Ajmere and Joud-pore, and on the north-west by the country of Beykaneer.

The eastern, north-eastern, southern and south-western parts of Jypore produce wheat, cotton, tobacco, and in general whatever is common to other parts of India; to which may be added, excellent cattle, and abundance of good copper.

The country in general is watered from the wells: the northern and north-western districts being sandy are not so well supplied with this necessary article as the midland parts; but in that part of Jypore which is mountainous, the streams that issue from thence are of the highest advantage to the cultivation of the soil.

The Rajpoots of Jypore are not esteemed so brave as those of Joudpore, for which Mr. Thomas imagines three causes may be ascribed:—first, the encroachments of the prince on the feudal system, which obtained formerly in this country, and which has contributed to render the people abject and slavish; second, that their armies are commanded by people whom they neither love, fear, or respect; and thirdly, the difference of climate, which is particularly ob-

fervable in a comparison with the stature and personal comeliness of the Rhatores with those of Jypore, the inhabitants of the former being by far more robust in their make.

No Rajpoot engages in trade, or any mechanical occupation whatsoever: they are all, without exception, either foldiers or husbandmen.

They are of a high and unconquerable spirit, and do not think poverty any dishonour: on the contrary they will often assert in conversation, that provided a person shall conduct himself with propriety towards his neighbours, he, whether possessed of riches or not, is, in all respects, to be considered as a man of perfect honour.

Among other customs peculiar to the Rajpoots the preservation of female honour holds with them a superior station; scandal uttered against the wife or daughter of a Rajpoot is never forgiven, and death alone can expiate the offence.



This high sense of honour has, however, rendered them of all other people most circumspect in conversation, and they are careful of giving offence; should a Rajpoot suspect a person inclined to slight him, he will not only forego every prospect of advantage to be derived from the usual mode of reconciliation, by the mutual exertion of common friends, but will even make a circuitous route to avoid passing by the habitation of his antagonist. This severity of manners may appear to strangers, at a first view, to be prohibitory; but a long residence in the country, and intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of this extraordinary people, have long since convinced Mr. Thomas that a person of upright manners cannot associate with a better companion than a Rajpoot.

In their marriages they pay the strictest attention to cast, and will never unite themselves with people of inferior condition; this is so unavoidably necessary, that were a man to enter into an alliance with a family of ignoble blood, the children of such marriage would in consequence be deprived of their right of inhe-

ritance ; a striking instance of national pertinacity.

A plurality of wives, though allowed by their institutions, excepting among the higher order of Rajpoots, is seldom practised ; and even in that instance it is more owing to motives of policy than inclination, and arises chiefly from a desire of extinguishing those antient feuds which have so long subsisted among families.

During their infancy and childhood, the Rajpoot women being kept in a constant state of concealment, when once married are seldom seen but by the very nearest in blood among their own relations. This custom is so rooted among them, that a lady would consider herself as dishonoured by any exposure of her person to public view.

This seclusion of females in southern Asia, has been erroneously supposed by many persons to be a hardship on the sex ; but, in Mr. Thomas's opinion, it is understood in a sense rather too general ; in every other respect, the Rajpoot character yields to no nation in Asia, or perhaps



in the world, in maintaining the ties of relationship and consanguinity, by a series of the kindest actions towards each other. They are dutiful sons, kind husbands, and affectionate brothers.

The men, it is true, are in the highest degree jealous of their honour, but the exempting their women from personal labour, in employing them though sequestered from the rest of the world, in superintending the education of their children, and other domestic avocations, cannot surely with justice be considered as a hardship. "And if we look," says Mr. Thomas, "at the condition of the inferior sort of women in most parts of Europe, the situation of the Rajpoot females may be, perhaps, benefited by the comparison."

One custom, and one alone, obtains among this infatuated people, at which nature must ever revolt, and humanity shudder: it is the practice of putting to death their new-born females. In other respects tender and affectionate towards their offspring, it was a matter of extreme surprize to Mr. Thomas that in this

instance the Rajpoots should so far exceed the bounds of natural affection.

From motives of curiosity, he was induced to demand their reason for allowing of this horrid practice; the reply in general was, "it is our custom;" but when Mr. Thomas remarked that was but a bad plea for the commission of the horrid crime of murder, they would then urge the possibility of their daughters meeting with bad husbands, who might hereafter bring disgrace and dishonour on their posterity; or, that the infants themselves might, at some future period, commit actions unworthy of the name of Rajpoots. "Should this reasoning hold," said Mr. Thomas, "and the Rajpoot nation, in this particular, were to be all of the same mind, they would in the space of one hundred years, or much less time, become extinct." This argument enforced with pertinacity, had, for a time, the effect of carrying apparent conviction of the impropriety of a custom so unnatural, and he had the satisfaction to obtain frequent promises from some respectable families in that country, that they would discontinue the practice in future. This

promise he afterwards learnt had, in some instances, among their own relations been happily carried into effect.

With these exceptions the Rajpoots may be considered as honourable, brave, and faithful; and few nations who are not in possession of the advantages of education, or those benefits which arise from the refinements of civilized life, can be said to be possessed of more good qualities, or benevolence of disposition.

This benevolence of disposition is exhibited in a peculiar manner towards the Jäuts, who are cultivators of the soil, for though the Rajpoots keep them under the strictest obedience, and do not allow them more than is necessary for their subsistence, deprive them of the honour of bearing arms, except it be on the actual invasion of their frontiers; notwithstanding these circumstances, apparently so degrading, the farmer acknowledges that he lives happily under the government, and that his state of poverty is, by the mildness in manners exhibited towards him by his superiors the Rajpoots, converted into content.

The rajah of Jypore, rich in resources of every kind, is in fact a very powerful prince; his cavalry may be computed at not less than thirty thousand men. He has twelve thousand infantry in his service, exclusive of five or six thousand mercenaries. In this statement are not included the aids which he would be enabled to draw from his connections with the neighbouring countries of Joudpore, Oudepore, and Beykaneer, to whose rulers he is allied by blood. His artillery is numerous, and well-appointed, "and in short," says Mr. Thomas, "an alliance with this prince, in case of necessity, may be one day deemed not unworthy the precaution and foresight of the British government in Asia."

One thing only tends to mark a deficiency in the otherwise sound policy of this prince, which is, the appointment of people of inferior rank to high commands in his army.

Naturally high-spirited and haughty, a Rajpoot is, of all other people, most averse to serve under a person whom he considers his inferior.

Hence arises the impolicy of the rajah, who has of late years introduced into commands in his army, servants, mechanics, and even slaves. These men, destitute of talents or conduct, cannot be supposed to possess that independancy of spirit which alone excites to the performance of great actions. In justification of the rajah's measures in this instance, it has however been asserted by some, that the difference of cast and condition makes none in respect to courage : which Mr. Thomas observes may hold good with respect to European troops, or even Indian troops disciplined and conducted by European officers, as, in that instance, they may be considered as a machine actuated and animated by the voice of the commander ; but in an Indian army, where discipline never existed, little can be expected from chiefs who in their actions are not stimulated by a sense of personal honour.

The Rajpoots, therefore, who composed the greater number of the troops in the Jypore army, deeming these commanders inadequate to perform the duties of their station, became consequently indifferent in their acknowledge-

ment of authority: these men, moreover, from a constant residence at the court of a gay and luxurious prince, for such is the character of the reigning sovereign, have assumed the manners of courtiers, and indulge in too frequent ridicule on the plain and honest simplicity of Rajpoot manners; while the latter, from their haughtiness of spirit, and the disgust conceived at this treatment, never fail, on the slightest token of disrespect, to revenge the insult, by putting the aggressor to instant death.

Among the recreations of the Kutchwah Rajpoots, the exercise on horseback forms a distinguishing feature. If ever, by chance, they should be necessitated to combat on foot, it is only in defence of their houses and families. Their arms consist of a lance and sabre; and though the rajah, of late years, has introduced the musquet and matchlock, they make but little use of these weapons. They have, in common with other Rajpoots, a thick quilted jacket, which, like armour, will resist with effect the stroke of a scymeter.

The country of Jypore is capable of yielding



an annual revenue of one hundred and twenty lacks of rupees; though from the nature of its government, the amount paid into the rajah's treasury now seldom exceeds sixty lacks. This may be accounted for by considering that the feudal system prevailing throughout the dominions of Jypore lessens thereby the actual revenue of the state. The respective chieftains hold their lands in Jâiedad, and for the express purpose of affording a body of troops in times of emergency, which cannot be dispensed with. To this certain expence are to be added the occasional exactions of the sovereign upon particular chiefs, and consequent diminution of the effective military force.

The chiefs of the district termed Sheekhawathy in particular, who in former times could contribute their quota towards the exigencies of the state, by bringing ten thousand men into the field, and who from great military experience and length of service, were justly considered as the best soldiers in the Jypore army, can now with difficulty muster three thousand men. Of late years these troops have become not only extremely disgusted with the service,

occasioned by the causes already detailed, but have evinced a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction, which in the event of civil discord threatens to prove highly detrimental to the general interests of the community.

The Rajpoot princes of Jypore are of the tribe called Kutchwa, and tracing their origin from a remote antiquity, this illustrious family in the annals of the empire are called Beni Suruj, or children of the sun. They originally settled in the southern parts of the province of Gualior, and drew their lineage from rajah Ramchunder, a prince of high celebrity.

It appears from the Hindoo books called Ramayoon and Muhubhârat, that rajah Ramchunder had two sons, the one named Nubh, and the other Koosh. The descendants of the former are denominated Burhagoojer, and those of the latter Kutchwayah. Pirthi Raj\* the

\* Pirthi Sing, aforementioned, was the founder of a dynasty, denominated Duazdah Kutchoory, or the twelve-partitions; so called from the number of his sons, among whom, to prevent animosities, he during his lifetime divided his dominions into as many separate parts.



first sovereign who mounted the throne of Jypore, in the æra of Bekermajeet,\* 1559, died in 1584.

The descendants of the Rajahs of Ambeer having established themselves in the finest parts of the peninsula, for a series of years were possessed of high authority and extensive dominion. Among these Maun Sing, a prince renowned in the annals of the empire, assumed a leading part; others, following his example, in succession contributed to the permanent establishment of their family, by acts of no less wisdom than benevolence.

The dry and uninteresting matter contained in a genealogical detail can be gratifying to none; it will therefore be sufficient to remark, that the succession of the Rajpoot princes from their founder continued for several centuries to fill the throne of Jypore; and our present detail will conclude by observing, that in the records of the royal family of Ambeer, there

\* For the æra of Bekermajeet consult Mr. Gladwin's *Ayccen Akbery*.

exists a table of two hundred and fifteen princes from rajah Ramchunder to Purtaub Sing, the present sovereign.\*

\* In the foregoing detail the compiler has great satisfaction in offering his best thanks to Colonel Palmer, late ambassador at the Poonah Durbar; to Captain John Baillie, professor of the Arabic and Persian languages; and to the gentlemen students in the Persian and Arabic classes in the college of Fort William, founded under the auspices of his excellency the most noble Marquis Wellesley: Colonel Palmer having most obligingly communicated to him some M.S. matter on the genealogy of the Rajpoot princes of Jypore, Joudpore, and Oudipore; and Captain Baillie having, with no less kindness, suggested to his pupils the translation of it as a voluntary exercise during their vacation hours.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*In an expedition against Jypore, Mr. Thomas is joined by Vavon Row.—Their proceedings.—Account of the city of Futtahpore.—Approach of the Jypore army.—Battle of Futtahpore.*

IN returning from a digression, which it is hoped will have afforded our readers some relief from the tedium of narrative detail, it is now necessary to remark, that about this time Luckwah, commander in chief of the forces of Scindiah north of the Nerbuddah, sent orders to Vavon Row to invade Jypore; and in his letter on that subject, having mentioned the sum exacted by his predecessors in office from each of the districts, he recommended Vavon Row to demand an equal proportion on the present occasion, as a reward for the service to be performed: he moreover allowed Vavon Row ten annas in the rupee, from the money thus collected, to be divided among the troops,

Luckwah was deposed from  
his post of Genl in 1798

and the remaining fix annas to be sent to his own treasury.

Vavon Row, on receipt of the above order, wrote pressing letters to Mr. Thomas, inviting him to join in the proposed expedition; but he, though willing to make a temporary incursion to Jypore to obtain present relief to his necessities, was by no means inclined to go the lengths proposed, and at first from prudential motives declined the offer.

Mr. Thomas moreover was not ignorant that the subsistence of so large a body of troops on an expedition like the present, could only be obtained by a full treasury, and his own resources were at present dried up. That the numerous cavalry which the Jypore rajah could bring into the field would very much impede their efforts in procuring the necessary supplies of forage and provisions; and that without these aids the success of the expedition would be very doubtful; and finally, he remarked to Vavon Row, that even if success attended their arms the rajah would never pay to them the

sum specified, but would refer the matter to Luckwah himself, whereby they would lose the fruits of their labours. These suggestions, however salutary in their design, could not persuade Vavon Row to give up his scheme, or convince him that their united force was incompetent to the present contest.

That chief now sent his vakeel to Mr. Thomas, promising him a sum of money, of which he stood in great need, for the proffered assistance, and he at length closed with the proposal.

His force at this time consisted of three battalions of four hundred men each, with fourteen pieces of artillery, ninety horse, three hundred Rohillas, and two hundred of the peasantry of Hurrianah, with which he joined Vavon Row at Kanond.

That chief had himself one battalion of infantry, four pieces of artillery, nine hundred cavalry, and six hundred irregulars. With this force they commenced their march towards Jypore. On entering the country, a party of

the Rajah's troops stationed to collect the revenues retreated; when the chief of the district sent vakeels into Mr. Thomas's camp, who agreed to the payment of the two years' tribute which had been named by Luckwah.

The offer was accepted, and the troops marching forward compelled several others to submit to similar exactions. For near a month the united armies continued their progress without interruption; but the rajah of Jypore, who had in the interim been collecting his troops, now marched to the relief of his possessions, with a resolution to punish the invaders, and revenge the insult he had sustained, by giving battle wherever he should meet with his enemies. The army thus collected, amounted to forty thousand men, with which the rajah marched against Mr. Thomas and Vavon Row, who, not having yet got possession of any place from whence a supply of grain could be drawn, became sensible of their error, and were reduced to a situation truly hazardous. Vavon Row deeming it impossible to encounter so large a force, now acquainted Mr. Thomas that he must rely on his own exertions; that from



the numbers and acknowledged bravery of the enemy, who were chiefly Rajpoots, there could exist but small hope of success in risking an engagement, and for these considerations advised Mr. Thomas to retreat. To combat these arguments, and frustrate a design so pusillanimous in its nature, Mr. Thomas reminded Vavon Row of his hasty and inconsiderate conduct in leading them into their present exigency, that there existed no cause to prevent at least one trial of strength, their own troops being faithful to them, and in high spirit to engage; that moreover, to think of a retreat on the present occasion, without an exertion on their part, would be a dishonour to himself and his progenitors, who never turned their backs on an enemy; and finally observed, that if Vavon Row now receded, he never could again expect to be employed by Scindiah, or any other chief under his authority. These arguments combined at length made an impression on the mind of Vavon Row, and he agreed to risk an engagement.

With this determination, they marched forthwith to the city of Futtahpore, in which

they expected to meet with, a supply of grain sufficient for the consumption of their troops; but on their arrival the inhabitants, who had received intimation of their approach, were busily employed in filling up the wells in the neighbourhood, in order to distress the troops for water. They had nearly completed this design, only one remaining open, when Mr. Thomas arrived.

The possession of this remaining well now became the object of contention betwixt Mr. Thomas and a body of four hundred men who had been detached from the city for the express purpose of filling it up. Mr. Thomas, who perceived no time was to be lost, ordered his cavalry to charge. The action was at first obstinate; but two of the enemy's firdars being killed, the rest retreated, and the well was happily preserved. This was of great importance, as except in this single supply no water was to be procured but from a considerable distance.

The service on this day was uncommonly severe, as Mr. Thomas had completed a march of five-and-twenty miles over a deep sand,



which in most places was above the ancles of his men; he was therefore glad to encamp, and afford some repose to his fatigued troops.

As the city of Futtahpore was marked in Mr. Thomas's military career, as a place of signal success, an account of it may not perhaps be deemed intrusive.

Kaiceem Khan, a Tartar nobleman, accompanied the standard of the Moguls on their first invasion of Hindostan; and as a reward for his military services on that occasion had been presented with the government of the adjoining country of Hurrianah and Jinjinnoo, where he settled with his family and adherents.

In process of time, however, the Mogul princes who sat on the throne of Delhi, unmindful of the services of this illustrious family, endeavoured to effect their ruin; and finally by a tyrannical procedure, expelled them from the province. On their expulsion they sought an asylum in the dominions of Jypore, by whose ruler they were kindly received, and where they remained until the present time. The city

of Futtahpore was allotted for their residence: where, since that period, the descendants of Kaieem Khan have continued to reside, retaining, along with the name of their founder, the characteristic energy and military spirit of the tribe; and are to this day termed by the natives *Kaieem Khanee*, or descendants of Kaieem Khan.

The city of Futtahpore being full of people, Mr. Thomas, in order to save the effusion of blood, was desirous to treat with the inhabitants for its ransom; but the demands of Vavon Row were so exorbitant, that they declined compliance.

The Mahratta chief asked no less a sum than ten lacs of rupees, whilst the townspeople only offered one, encouraged perhaps by the hope of receiving assistance from the rajah of Jypore, who was rapidly advancing to their relief.

During these negotiations night came on, and nothing was done respecting the proposed ransom: some persons, however, who had been

sent into the city by Mr. Thomas to protect the place until they could make the terms of surrender, unluckily began to plunder the inhabitants; which circumstance so exasperated the commandant, that he broke off all further treaty, and the united force then took possession of the place by storm. This was scarcely effected, when intelligence of the rajah's approach was announced to Mr. Thomas, who then thought proper to fortify his camp, which he did in the following manner. In the neighbourhood were abundance of large thorn-trees, which are common in the west of India: a sufficient number of these were cut down, and, by Mr. Thomas's direction, piled one upon another in the front and flanks of his camp, his rear being secured by the city of Futtahpore. To render it more impenetrable, the branches of the trees\* being closely interwoven

\* It is remarkable that Mr. Thomas, who had read very little, should, from the resources of his own mind, have adopted a mode of defence parallel with one related in the History of Modern Europe. Speaking of the approach of the British army under the command of General Abercromby, in the war of 1758, against the fort of Ticonderago, in North America, "The French (says the historian)

with each other, were then made fast with ropes, thus forming *chevaux de frize* to keep off the cavalry; and lastly a large quantity of sand was thrown between the branches which pointed outwards toward the enemy.

A trench could not be dug, as the sand was so loose in its quality that the excavations were instantly filled up as soon as made: but the *abbatis* above-mentioned was on several accounts highly serviceable, particularly as it not only secured Mr. Thomas from the attacks of the enemy's cavalry, but afforded protection to the camp. He next directed batteries to be made for the defence of the different wells in the neighbourhood, which had by this time been cleaned out and opened afresh for use. He took possession of and fortified the city in the best manner that the shortness of the time

"were stationed under the cannon of the place, behind an  
" *abbatis* or breast-work formed of the trunks of trees  
" piled one upon another; and they were farther defended  
" by whole trees, with their branches outward, some of  
" which were cut and sharpened so as to answer the purpose of *chevaux de frize*."—See Russel's History of Modern Europe, vol. v. p. 288.

admitted; ordered a large supply of provisions to be brought into his camp; and had scarcely finished these preparations, when the vanguard of the enemy's army appeared in fight.

On their arrival, the enemy encamped within four cofs of Mr. Thomas, and soon after pushed on a detachment of cavalry and infantry to clear the wells in the neighbourhood. For two days he allowed them to proceed with their work uninterrupted; but on the third morning, he with two battalions of infantry, eight pieces of artillery, and his own cavalry, marched out with a resolution to attack their grand park of artillery, leaving directions to the battalion that remained behind to attack and disperse the advanced party before-mentioned. On his departure, he left a written paper for Vavon Row, requesting that chief to follow with the remainder of his cavalry, and with the infantry which he had with him, to provide for the security of the camp.

Mr. Thomas was disposed to act in this manner from his experience of the Mahrattas, who he well knew, if acquainted with his plans;

could keep nothing secret, but would, by divulging them, put the enemy on their guard. It was night when he set out; and a tumbril being upset on the road, occasioned considerable delay in their progress, so that the day began to dawn before the evil was repaired; and, to add to his mortification, on arriving near the camp, he perceived the enemy assembled under arms, and ready to receive him.

It was now too late to carry his first design into execution. He pushed on, however; and, coming up with a party who now advanced to meet him, attacked them to the number of seven thousand men with great spirit and vigour. The enemy made but a feeble resistance, and soon after withdrew to their main body, having sustained considerable loss. The wells which had been cleaned out were again filled up; and Mr. Thomas, after collecting the horses and other cattle which had been left on the field, returned with his detachment to camp. On his way he met with the Mahratta cavalry, who seemed much out of humour that they had not been consulted on so important an occasion: but Vavon



Row, their chief, repressed their pride by telling them plainly, that their own delay in accoutring was the real cause of their disappointment.

Mr. Thomas's officers now received khiluts\* from the Mahratta chief; and, to prevent animosities, similar marks of honour were bestowed, though with reluctance, on the officers of the Mahratta horse.

Preparations were now making by the enemy to bring on a general engagement, which proved far greater in its consequences than either party had foreseen. The next morning at day-break, Mr. Thomas was informed that there was a great bustle in the enemy's camp, and shortly after received intelligence of their actual approach in order of battle. He had determined in his own mind the spot where he would engage; and as he well knew no reliance could be placed on the Mahrattas, he was necessitated to leave a part of his infantry, and four six-pounders, to guard

\* Dresses of honour.

the camp and cover his rear, which was in danger of being surrounded by the enemy: with the remainder, consisting of two battalions of infantry, two hundred Rohillas, his cavalry, and ten pieces of artillery, he prepared for the encounter.

The Mahrattas, on seeing the immense force they had to cope with, gave themselves over for lost; and Mr. Thomas was in a manner compelled to fight this important battle without assistance.

After some manoeuvres on either side, he was glad to find that the enemy distributed their army as he wished.

Their right wing, consisting of the whole force of the Rajpoot cavalry, was destined to the attack of his camp; and so certain were they of victory, that, on perceiving the stockade we have before described, they laughed at the idea that *a few bushes*, as they were pleased to term them, could for a moment retard their progress, or resist the impetuosity of the attack. The left wing, consisting of four thousand Ro-



hillas, three thousand Ghosseins, and six thousand irregular infantry, commanded by the chiefs of their respective districts, advanced at the same time with hasty strides and loud shouts, to take possession of the city, the loss of which, by cutting off the supply of water, would have been attended with the most serious consequences.

Their third, or main body, was composed of ten battalions of infantry, twenty-two pieces of artillery, and the *jillah posh*, or body guard, of the rajah, consisting of sixteen hundred men armed with matchlocks and sabres, and commanded by Rajah Roorjee Khavies, as generalissimo of the army. Notwithstanding this immense force, Mr. Thomas derived great advantage from the position in which his troops were drawn up; his front and flanks being secured by the fortified camp, and his rear by the city of Futtahpore.

The enemy's cavalry now advancing in close and compact order, the Mahrattas, who were posted in the rear, sent to require a reinforcement; and accordingly Mr. Thomas, though

he could ill spare it, ordered four companies and two of the guns which had been left for the protection of the camp, to march out and join him; while, with three guns and five companies of infantry, he advanced to repel the attack of the enemy's horse. His main body was commanded by John Morris, an Englishman, "who, though a brave man (says "Mr. Thomas), was better adapted to conduct a forlorn hope than to direct the motions of troops in a field of battle." Mr. Thomas having taken possession of a very high sand-bank, the enemy were thus placed between two fires, and could neither charge him or attack the camp; they consequently began to draw off: but perceiving he had but few cavalry, and those being in his rear, on a sudden made a furious charge upon them, by which the person who commanded, and several other brave men, were instantly cut to pieces; and it was not until the advance of two companies of grenadiers, who, after having given their volley, charged with bayonets, that the enemy, thus exposed, were compelled to retreat; and had the other divisions of their army behaved with equal spirit, the day would

have been their own. It was not, however, until their cavalry retreated, that the body destined to take possession of the city thought proper to advance a second time, having already once been driven back with considerable loss. Within the city Mr. Thomas had posted the Hurrianah infantry, and one hundred Rohillas, who, having fortified the highest and the strongest of the houses, could maintain themselves against all attacks, excepting those of artillery. Of this circumstance the enemy were aware; and accordingly now detached six pieces of cannon against the city, with orders to renew the combat. Mr. Thomas, on seeing their cavalry draw off from the field, was thereby enabled to succour those. He attacked the enemy instantly, and with so much vigour, that he compelled them to withdraw the artillery, and retreat. Their main body had by this time become a confused mass, without order, regularity, or method. The enemy, notwithstanding, was determined to risk the issue of the day on a general charge on Mr. Thomas's main body. But their general was not met on this occasion with equal ardour by his troops; and Mr. Thomas, per-

ceiving them at a stand, commenced a heavy fire of grape shot from his guns, when, after sustaining much loss, the enemy retreated; and Mr. Thomas at this time ordered his battalions that had suffered the least in the late conflict to advance in the pursuit. This, however, could not now be effected: the bullocks attached to the artillery, having been stationed behind a sand-bank in the rear, could not be brought up with the expedition the emergency of the case required. At this time the Mahratta cavalry, who, during the preceding part of the conflict, had stood aloof, came forward with their services in this pursuit. After some delay, Mr. Thomas, having procured a sufficient number of bullocks for one of his guns, advanced with that and a battalion of infantry against the enemy; while the Mahratta horse, to wipe off the disgrace they had before suffered by their inactivity, joined in the pursuit.

The enemy were retreating in all directions; and Mr. Thomas prepared to take possession of a pair of twenty-four pounders, which remained near the spot where he stood, and directed some of his people to carry them into

the rear. At this instant a large body of Rajpoot cavalry advanced sword in hand to rescue the guns, when the cowardly Mahrattas, without sustaining a single assault, quitted the field. Mr. Thomas, perceiving the enemy continued to advance, drew up his troops as well as the shortness of time permitted; but before he was completely formed, the Mahratta horse, in their pusillanimous flight, had broken through his left wing, and were followed closely by the Rajpoots, who began to cut down a great number of his men. These gallant foldiers made a brave resistance; many of them, even in the agonies of death, seized hold of the bridles of the enemy's horses. The moment was critical; and to Mr. Thomas pregnant with future mischief. With the only gun that remained, which he loaded up to the muzzle, and about one hundred and fifty of his followers, who bravely determined to conquer or die with him, he waited the event with fortitude. After permitting the enemy to approach within forty yards, he gave his fire, accompanied at the same time by a volley of musquetry, with such considerable effect, that great numbers of the enemy were instantly

knocked down. This first effort, being followed by two other discharges, completely routed the enemy, and drove them from this well-contested field.

The Mahratta horse, who had been the chief cause of the late disaster, had in the interim hastened to the camp for protection, but were by Mr. Thomas's order refused admittance; and a small party of Rajpoots, who had followed in their rear, put several to death without mercy.\*

The enemy's infantry, perceiving the attack made by the horse, began by this time to rally, and seemed inclined to renew the action. To afford them an opportunity of so doing, Mr. Thomas, having collected the remains of his gallant detachment, waited the attack. The day approaching to a close, the enemy thought proper to retire; and Mr. Thomas, after searching in vain for the twenty-four pounders which he had once possessed during the action, re-

\* Throughout the whole of this action, Mr. Thomas speaks in terms most indignant of the disgraceful behaviour of his allies.



turned with his army to camp. In this action, in killed and wounded, Mr. Thomas lost three hundred men (amongst the latter of whom was the gallant Morris): that of the enemy amounted to more than two thousand, exclusive of horses and other valuable effects, which they were compelled to leave behind on the field of battle.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Military operations continued.—Mr. Thomas compelled to retreat.—Distress of the army.—Peace concluded.—Mr. Thomas marches against the rajah of Beykaneer.—Geographical description of that country—of the Lackhi Jungle.—Military operations.—Mr. Thomas enters into engagements with Ambajee.*

ON the ensuing morning, Mr. Thomas notified to the enemy's general that he might send proper persons to bury the dead, and carry away the wounded men without interruption on his part. This civility was received with attention, accompanied at the same time with a request to treat for peace.

Vavon Row, as a previous stipulation, insisted on the payment of a large sum of money to indemnify him for losses sustained during the campaign. To this the other objected, upon the principle of not being authorised by the



rajah of Jypoor to disburse so large a sum without further orders. On receiving this answer, Mr. Thomas, suspecting that the enemy only waited for time to procure a reinforcement, recommended to Vavon Row the prosecution of hostilities. That chief was averse to the proposal, as he deemed the performance of mamla, or agreement, preferable to the hazard and risk of a second engagement, and therefore he overruled Mr. Thomas's objections. The negotiations for peace were therefore broken off. The enemy, having collected the scattered remains of their forces, took post on their former ground. In the mean time letters from Scindiah arrived, requesting Vavon Row to desist from hostilities against the troops of Jypoor. Others of similar import came from Mr. Perron, who had lately succeeded General Duboigne in the chief command of Scindiah's forces.

The enemy now of their own accord offered to pay the sum of fifty thousand rupees, which being most unaccountably rejected, Vavon Row had much reason to repent. During the late negotiations considerable reinforcements had arrived in the Jypoor camp, and hostilities re-

commented with redoubled vigour on both sides.

Mr. Thomas's troops from a want of forage; which they were obliged to collect from a distance of twenty miles from the camp, sustained much inconvenience. In attempts to bring it in they were moreover harassed by detached parties of the enemy; and to complete their distress, the rajah of Beykaneer had by this time reinforced the Jypore army with five thousand men. The Mahrattas in Mr. Thomas's camp, wholly useless, were fit only to plunder and destroy the unresisting peasantry. Thus situated, and forage continuing to decrease, a council of war was held between Vavon Row, Mr. Thomas, and the other commanders, in which it was unanimously agreed to attempt a retreat to their own country.

Agreeably to this resolution, the next morning before day-break, the troops began to file off, but were scarcely got in motion when the enemy's whole force came up to the attack. While it continued dark, great confusion prevailed; but on the appearance of day-light, Mr.

Thomas, having formed his men, compelled the enemy to retreat with great loss.

They still continued to hang on his rear, and annoy him with the fire of artillery, assisted by an immense quantity of rockets. From the rapidity of his march the enemy's heavy guns were soon obliged to remain behind, and the rocket and the matchlock men alone continued the pursuit. The day was intensely hot, and the troops suffered severely from a total want of water; this cause, however, operating in a similar manner upon the enemy, prevented the execution of their plans. The service was severe, and in the highest degree fatiguing; at length after a toilsome march, Mr. Thomas arrived in the evening at a village, where he fortunately met with two wells, containing plenty of excellent water. His men, eager to catch a refreshing draught, crowded so fast upon each other that two fell into the well, by which accident one of them was instantly suffocated, and the other with much difficulty brought out alive. Care was now taken to prevent a renewal of similar accidents, by stationing an armed force to protect the well, till by degrees most of the troops

having received a small supply, the confusion ceased, and order was restored in the camp.

The enemy still followed in the rear, and encamped within two cofs. Mr. Thomas determined to renew the attack the ensuing day.

Mr. Thomas, perceiving that his men had lost their accustomed spirits, to encourage them marched himself, on foot, at their head, during the whole of the ensuing day.

The enemy frequently appearing inclined to charge, Mr. Thomas directed the commandant of artillery to keep up a constant fire in the rear. This, in some degree checked their ardour, and afforded an opportunity to his own troops to move on. After a second day's march, attended by circumstances of distress similar to the preceding one, though with considerable loss to the enemy, Mr. Thomas arrived at a large town; in the neighbourhood of which he was gratified with the sight of an ample supply of water, from five wells.

Here the enemy desisting from the pursuit,

Mr. Thomas had time to direct his attention to the situation of his own troops. The sick and wounded were conducted to a place of safety, together with the hostages which had been received from the enemy on the commencement of the late negotiations; and having rested and refreshed his men, Mr. Thomas recommenced hostilities on the enemy's country, and, by a succession of exactions and fines, soon obtained money sufficient to defray his expences, and satisfy his troops for their arrears.

By this time, the rajah of Jypoor, sensible of the injury which his country would sustain by these depredations, once more sent persons to offer terms to Vavon Row, for the evacuation of his territories. The terms were accepted, a sum of money paid, and hostilities ceased.

On the conclusion of the transactions, Mr. Thomas determined to retaliate on the rajah of Beykaneer, and punish him for the aid which he had afforded the prince of Jypoor the preceding year.

To comprehend, however, the nature of this

expedition, it will be necessary in this place to recur to a geographical and statistical sketch of this remarkable country.

The province of Beykaneer is bounded on the north by the country of the Batties, west by the desert, south-west by Jesselmere, and south by Joudpoor; south-east by Jypoor, and east by the district of Hurrianah. It is one hundred and twenty cofs from north to south, and from fifty to eighty from east to west; but is broadest in the centre. The country is elevated; the soil a light brown sand, from the nature of which rain is swallowed up as soon as fallen. This circumstance renders necessary a recourse to the construction of wells in all parts of the country. These, which are made of brick, are in general from one to two hundred feet in depth, though towards the Jesselmere frontier they extend to no less than three hundred feet. For the ordinary purposes of life, and domestic consumption, each family is careful to provide a cistern for the reception of rain water; as a dearth of this precious article frequently compels the inhabitants, by whole families, to migrate to a more favourable soil.



With the exception of a few villages towards the eastern boundary, the cultivation of Beykaneer is precarious; bajerah, and other sorts of Indian pulse, being all that are produced. But horses and bullocks are numerous. From the causes above stated, the inhabitants of Beykaneer are obliged in a great measure to depend upon their neighbours for the necessary supplies of provisions; as even in the few places most favourable for cultivation the produce of the fields scarcely recompenses the labour of the peasant.

The city of Beykaneer is spacious, well-built, and surrounded by a wall of conker.

One mile south-west of the city is the fort where the rajah resides. It is a place of considerable strength, built in the Indian style, and encompassed by a broad and deep ditch; but the chief security of both the city and fort is owing to the scarcity of water in the surrounding country.

The form of government in Beykaneer resembles that of Joudpoor, for here also both

the property and lives of the subject are entirely at the disposal of the prince.

Soorut Sing, the present ruler of Beykaneer, has been of late years compelled to maintain an army of mercenaries for the security of his authority. For though at his accession to the government he found himself possessed of a full treasury, which the wisdom and foresight of his ancestors had hoarded up with frugality and care; yet from boundless profusion and thoughtless extravagance this was quickly dissipated; and his necessities compelling him to have recourse to extortions to supply his extravagance, he has, by becoming cruel, tyrannical, and oppressive, thereby alienated the love of his subjects.\*

\* In the year 1799, the rajah of Beykaneer committed an act deserving of the highest reprobation, and which stands confirmed on the authority of Mr. Thomas.

A party who were sent by Vizier Ali, the spurious nawaub of Oude, to the country of Zemaun Shah, were, by order of Soorut Sing, the present sovereign, not only detained prisoners in their passage through his territories, but plundered of their property and treasure to the amount of twenty-seven lacks of rupees, and finally put to death.



The inhabitants of Beykaneer are in general Rajpoots, and spring from the parent stock of Oudipore, as will be hereafter noticed in the historical sketch of that remarkable country. This of course attaches to them a similarity of habits and manners. It has however been remarked that although Rajpoots, and of the Rhatore tribe, the Beykaneerians are cruel in disposition, cowardly, and treacherous. These degenerate symptoms may be attributed partly to their indolent and inactive state for a long period of years; and partly to a relaxation in their ancient simplicity of manners, occasioned by the bad example set them by their own princes.

The revenues of Beykaneer amount to about three lacks of rupees; though the rajah has occasionally found means, by laying duties and vexatious imposts on the merchants passing through his country, to realize nearly double that sum.

The trade formerly passing from the port of Soorat to Tatta on the Indus, entered from

thence the Beykaneer province. The usual route of the caravans was through Joudpore and the province of Jeffelmere; but the rapacity and injustice of the reigning prince, as above related, have, of late years, if not utterly annihilated commerce, at least directed its course into other channels: of this neglect the rajah of Jypore has reaped the principal benefit, by turning the most lucrative branches of commerce into his own territories.

The force of Beykaneer may amount on the whole to eight thousand men; two fifths of which are cavalry, and the remainder infantry and artillery. In the service of this prince are several Europeans of different nations, who reside within the fort of Beykaneer.

The rajah of Beykaneer has many enemies, the principal of which are his neighbours the Batties, whose country he invaded about nine years since, but without success. He has, in like manner, been unsuccessful in several attempts lately made in the district of Churoo.

Considering the nature of the soil and climate

of this country, it must appear matter of no small surprize, that any people should voluntarily have selected so barren and unprofitable a spot for a permanent residence. In Mr. Thomas's opinion, this determination must have originated in the predilection manifested by the first settlers for this dreary solitude; either from a romantic wish for retirement among themselves, or occasioned by the hatred which they entertained against the oppression and injustice of their former rulers. The natives of this district are robust, hardy, and excellent farmers.

Adjoining the province of Beykancer is the district called the Lacky Jungle, so much and so deservedly celebrated for the fertility of its pasture lands, and for a breed of excellent horses of the highest estimation in India. The Lacky Jungle is comprised within the district of Batinda, forming a circle of about twenty-four cosses of the country each way. On the north it is bounded by the country of Roy Kelaun, east by the province of Hurrianah, south by Batnier, and west by the great desert.

It is situated twenty-two coss north of Batnier, and fifty west of Pattialah, to whose chief the rajah is tributary.\* The soil being sandy, the wells are of considerable depth. The country yields rice and bajerah, and other sorts of grain, but not in abundance. The chief excellency of the district consists in its pasture lands, which for a succession of ages have been celebrated as a nursery for cattle. The original breed in this country has been much improved by Persian horses, which were introduced during the successive invasions of Nadir Shah and the Abdallis into Hindoostan. This breed however has of late years been much neglected. This Mr. Thomas attributes to the exactions of the government, or rather to the rapacity of the ministers of the rajah, who frequently compel the proprietors of the horses to sell them at their own price, much under the real value; and when purchased they are by these rapacious men sent, on their own accounts, to different parts of the peninsula, and sold at a considerable profit.

\* Consult the map.—This part of the country however stands in need of an actual survey, which would be both curious and interesting.

This impolitic measure has not only caused a decrease in the present breed, but has also deterred the inhabitants from extending the traffic ; though, on the contrary, if the breeders of the horses were allowed a fair and equitable market, and they were to be exempted from those vexatious drawbacks, the commerce might again flourish, and the proprietors of land in the Lacky Jungle and its vicinity would have a certain preference in supplying the neighbouring states with plenty of the finest horses in India.

The prices of the horses are variable, and obtain according to the quality of the animal ; they are in general from two hundred to one thousand rupees in value, which latter sum is seldom exceeded.

It is remarked that the breeders are averse to dispose of their brood mares ; and if prevailed upon to do so, will exact double price : though in general with regard to foreigners, they cannot be persuaded to part with a brood mare for any price.

While breeding, the mares and foals are kept apart from the horses. The women and children look after them during the day-time. At the season of the periodical rains they are allowed to graze, and are brought home at night; but in the cold and dry seasons they are fed upon hay, which is dried in the same manner as in Europe; a custom common throughout the west of India.

One thing only diminishes the excellence of this breed, which is a disease of the most distressing nature. A species of musquitoes, called by the natives Dunkh\*, and sometimes Fetha, are not only very troublesome to the animals, by annoying them with their stings, but in a short time degenerating into an incurable cancer, the horses die.

This disorder prevails chiefly in the neigh-

\* This is remarkable, and it would no doubt amply recompense the labour any gentleman of science might bestow in investigating the causes of this extraordinary distemper, and pointing out a remedy; more especially, as it seems peculiar to the district called the Lacky Jungle.

bourhood of the Cuggur river, more particularly about the towns of Futtiahbad, Seersah, and Runyah; and it is computed that in these places, and the interior parts of the Lacky Jungle, the yearly loss sustained by the ravages of this pernicious insect is estimated at one-fourth of the horses\* that are produced.

Returning from our geographical excursion, we now resume the thread of our narrative. When resolved on the invasion of Beykaneer, Mr. Thomas, with great precaution and foresight, had prepared a number of water-bags for the use of his army; a measure which the scarcity of water in that country rendered indispensably necessary.

With this aid, and a reinforcement of troops, he on the commencement of the rainy season began his march. The rajah, who had received

\* In addition to the foregoing it may be observed, that though the best horses are said to be produced within the boundaries of the Lacky Jungle, Mr. Thomas affirms that equally good horses may be procured many coss distant from thence; a circumstance which may possibly have confounded the real Jungle with some other place.



intimation of the intended attack, was prepared to repel it. Being in want of artillery, and knowing he could not stand against Mr. Thomas on the plain, he stationed large bodies of infantry in each of the frontier towns.

The first attack was made on the village of Jeitpore, in which were three thousand men. Mr. Thomas resolved on an immediate assault; and carried the place, though with the loss of two hundred of his troops. The lives and property of the survivors were then ransomed for a sum of money; and successful in this first onset, Mr. Thomas met with but little resistance during the remainder of the campaign. Intimidated by these repeated defeats, the rajah's followers deserted in crowds; a few Rajpoots alone remained faithful to his cause.

Under circumstances so unfavorable, the rajah dispatched a vakeel to Mr. Thomas, to request a cessation from hostilities, and consent to an adjustment of former differences. The rajah agreed to pay the sum of two lacks of rupees, part of which was delivered on the spot; and for the remainder bills were given upon mer-



chants in Jypore, the amount of which Mr. Thomas never received.

It has before been remarked that Luckwah and his colleague had been superseded in their command, and made prisoners. This circumstance afforded Mr. Thomas an opportunity of regaining possession of the districts belonging to the deceased Appakandarow, and which, as above related, had been made over in form to Furnaveese. Mr. Thomas now possessed himself of the districts in question, with an intent to present them to Appa's heir; but Ambajee and Mr. Perron, who had been lately nominated to the chief command in Hindoostan, hearing of his intentions, united in requesting Mr. Thomas to abstain from interfering in the affair. Consulting with Vavon Row on the subject, he was advised by that chief to comply, and at length assented. In recompence for this concession, the Marhattas gave him the pergunnah of Badhli, which he added to his other acquisitions.

Mr. Thomas next marched to Jeind, a town on the frontiers of Hurrianah and Punjab, be-

longing to Baug Sing. This chief had, from Mr. Thomas's first entering the province, behaved towards him in a hostile manner, for which Mr. Thomas now determined to retaliate. On his arrival at Jeind, the capital of Baug Sing, he attempted to storm the place, but was driven back with the loss of four hundred men. Undismayed even at a check so unexpected, Mr. Thomas, having fortified his camp agreeably to his usual custom, formed the blockade of the place; by which means, there being three thousand persons within the town, he expected to compel them to a surrender. In this hope he was for the present disappointed. The sister of Sahib Sing, of Puttialah, a woman of a masculine and intrepid spirit, attended by a large force, arrived to succour the place: with her also came Bugheel Sing, and other chiefs of the Seiks. Mr. Thomas, without hesitation, attacked the last-mentioned party with so much spirit that he compelled them to retire: and following up his victory, drove them through their own camp; which, consisting of straw huts, he quickly destroyed by fire. They returned however to the attack, and their numbers increasing, they were

permitted, by the shameful supineness of his own officers, to take possession of two redoubts, by which many of his best men were cut to pieces. Supplies of provision coming in slowly, and the country people perceiving the untoward situation of affairs, now declared against him, and joined the enemy. This compelled Mr. Thomas, after a blockade of three months, to raise the siege, and return to Hansi. The enemy, by this time increased to ten thousand men, followed in his rear; and to add to his distress, the chief of Puttialah appeared at the same time with several pieces of heavy artillery. A retreat in these countries being always deemed equivalent to a defeat, the peasantry who rose on all sides increased the difficulty in his progress. In hope of diverting the enemy's attention, Mr. Thomas gave out that he was going to Jypore; which lying far distant from their own country, he expected would induce them to relinquish their pursuit. In this he was unsuccessful; but the enemy having repeatedly attacked him, and as often been repulsed, now of their own accord drew off, and directed their march towards Hansi. Hoping to intercept him before he could reach that place, in their

route they encamped at Narnound, a town twenty cofs to the northward of Hanfi. Here Mr. Thomas resolved to attack them. For this purpose he marched all night, and arriving by daybreak in their camp, gave them a complete defeat. Their tents, baggage, the howdahs of their elephants, the bazar, with one thousand saddles, and about two hundred horses, fell into his hands; but his troops dispersing on all sides in search of plunder, prevented his becoming master of their artillery and elephants.

From the inclemency of the season, Mr. Thomas was now necessitated to return to the place where he had deposited his heavy baggage; and the Seiks, in their late defeat, repaired to Jeind. On their arrival they were refused admittance into the place, by the sister of Sahib Sing. This lady, who, as we have before seen, had on several occasions exhibited a spirit superior to what could have been expected from her sex, and far more decided than her brother, now offered to take the field in person. But the Seik chieftains, ashamed in being exceeded in spirit by a woman, returned to encounter

Mr. Thomas, whom they found encamped near a large town. They now came to a resolution to conquer, or perish in the attempt: but whilst deliberating on the mode of attack, their own camp was suddenly assaulted during the night by a numerous and daring banditti, who sounded their trumpets with such loud alarms that the Seiks, thinking the whole force of Mr. Thomas was at hand, abandoned their camp with precipitation. This circumstance, though it occasioned no real loss to the Seiks, had great effect on the minds of the country people, and lessened their ideas of Seik prowess. The Seiks were now as desirous of peace as they had before been determined on the continuance of hostilities; and it was at length agreed between the contending parties that each should remain in possession of their several districts, as they stood before the siege of Jeind. Excepting the Rajah of Pattialah, all the rest were well satisfied with the termination of hostilities. He alone refused to sign the treaty, although, in spite of his remonstrances, it was done by his more spirited sister. For this conduct the Seik chief ungenerously evinced his resentment, by detaining her a prisoner; but Mr. Thomas,

deeming it his duty to interfere on this occasion, by threats compelled him to release her.

About this time Mr. Thomas was invited by Ambajee to unite their forces: for his assistance Mr. Thomas was to receive the monthly sum of fifty thousand rupees. Having at present no particular destination, he closed with the terms: and agreeably to the instructions of Ambajee, prepared to lead his army to Oudipoor to encounter Luckwa; who by this time, having regained his liberty, was assembled in great force. As the country of Oudipoor constitutes one of the principal states of Rajepootana, and is on several accounts extremely interesting, we shall hope for pardon in digressing a little from the thread of our narrative, and proceed to take a retrospective sketch of its geographical position, and internal resources.

## CHAPTER X.

*Geographical description of the country of Oudipoor or Mewar—its constitution—manners and customs of the inhabitants—military operations in the Oudipoor country—termination of the campaign.*

THE dominions of Oudipoor are seventy fcos from north to south, and fifty from east to west.

They are bounded on the north by Ajmere and the principality of Kishenghur, on the north and west by Joudepoor, on the south and east by the province of Malwa, and the north-east by Kotah and Boondy.

The lands throughout Oudipoor are possessed by the princes, and chief nobility, and are held as Jaecedâd. These lands at present can yield an annual revenue of a crore of rupees:



it formerly produced a larger sum, but the depredations committed by the Mahrattas since taking possession of a great part of this country, have caused its reduction to the present standard; and though the Mahrattas since their conquest have permitted the landholders above-mentioned to retain their lands, yet by frequent exactions and vexatious mulcts, their value to the proprietors is considerably lessened.

Most of the opulent towns in Mewar, which formerly acknowledged the authority of the Oudipoor family, are now in the hands of the Mahrattas.

The rajah is in a state similar to that of the emperor at Delhi; he is entirely guided by Mahratta councils, and dependant on them in a great measure for his subsistence: but in Mr. Thomas's opinion, they have not yet obtained the strong holds in his country, and this prince, at present so insignificant, may possibly at no distant period free himself from their usurpations.

The country of Oudipoor is very productive; it yields sugar-cane, indigo, tobacco, wheat, rice, barley, and in short every thing to be found in other parts of India in the greatest abundance.

In Oudipoor are found iron-mines, excellent timber, and in one part of the country is produced sulphur.

The generality of cattle, however, are inferior in quality to those of the more western countries: horses only are numerous, and may be procured at a moderate price.

The produce of the neighbouring states being nearly the same as that of Oudipoor, the trade with them is not considerable, but a very extensive commerce from all parts of India was formerly carried on through the agency of the Ghoffeins of Nathdora; this of late years, through the oppressive government of the Mahrattas, has been obstructed in its progress, almost to annihilation.

This country is uncommonly strong by nature. The city of Oudipoor, which is situated

in an amphitheatre of hills, is guarded in the approach by a deep and dangerous defile, which admits of only a single carriage passing at a time. So extensive is the circuit protected by this pass, that between four and five hundred villages are contained within its range; but Oudipoor, thus furrounded by hills, is very unhealthy, and peculiarly so during the season of the periodical rains.

The wells in the neighbourhood of the city, though but a small distance from the surface of the earth, are strongly impregnated with the mineral qualities of the water that flows from the neighbouring hills, a principal cause of the insalubrity of this climate.

The internal administration of Oudipoor is extremely singular, and therefore merits attention.

The whole power of the state was formerly vested in sixteen principal chieftains, who were accustomed to reside at court, with a stipulated number of followers. These chiefs distinguished by the name of the sixteen omrahs,

and constantly residing at the capital, under the immediate eye of the sovereign, this circumstance rendered it impossible for them to transact the business of their respective domains in person. To remedy this inconvenience, thirty-two inferior chiefs were nominated to assist them with their counsels: these were designated the thirty-two omrahs; and in order to assist the latter, in the ordinary detail of business in the interior districts, sixty-four inferior officers were appointed, who from their number are also called the sixty-four omrahs. These combined, present a system not very dissimilar to that of the feudal tenures of Europe, prior to the consolidation of the French monarchy, under the emperor Charlemagne,\* though that prince has been blamed by historians for dividing his kingdom among his children.

In the original design of this extraordinary constitution, it was intended that a gradation of authority should be established by the

\* Consult the History of France, vol. I. p. 59, et seq.  
Author anonymous.

smaller number controlling the greater; so that the thirty-two chiefs were to be subservient to the decrees of the council of sixteen, and by a similar and progressive ratio the resolutions of the sixty-four were to be controlled by those of the thirty-two.

But, as might reasonably have been expected, the chiefs, by a frequent abuse of power, at length sanctioned the interference of the prince; who by intrigues and sowing dissensions among them, gradually recovered the exercise of his own authority.

He therefore forbade these high-spirited nobles to interfere with each others' concerns: and to remedy the inconveniences that government might sustain from their private feuds, the rajah appointed of his own accord a dewaun, or controller-general; to whom all complaints from the omrahs or the subjects within their respective districts were to be made, and whose adjudication was to be considered as final. As the lands throughout Oudipoor had formerly been divided among the omrahs, with a slight variation they have so

continued to the present day ; but the former authority and political consequence enjoyed by these omrahs in the administration of the government, have long ceased, and at present Mahratta influence alone prevails in the dominions of Oudipoor.

The policy of the Mahrattas has of late been directed to distress the people of Oudipoor with vexatious fines, rather than to dispossess them altogether, as they apprehend, if driven to desperation, the Rajepoots might not only unite in a common cause, but by deserting the level country and taking refuge in the mountains, render their complete subjection extremely difficult.

The nobility of Oudipoor are rajepoots of the tribe called Sefodia. This tribe among them is esteemed the purest and most noble ; a few are Rahtours. In their persons the Oudipoor Rajepoots are not so comely as the neighbouring rahtours, nor are they so courageous, although they frequently intermarry with that tribe. This distinction in the raje-

poot blood, in Mr. Thomas's opinion, may be traced to the unhealthiness of the climate. Though affable in their manners and civil to strangers, the rajepoots of Oudipoor do not possess an equal share of sincerity with their brethren in other parts of Rajepootana.

The military force of Oudipoor may be estimated at twelve thousand cavalry; the infantry, which is retained by the different omrahs in their respective forts to guard against Mahratta invasion, is very inconsiderable. The arms of the Oudipoor rajepoots consist of a matchlock, a lance, and a sabre, though the former are not so much used as the two latter.

They are fond of glittering armour; and clothe their horses with a thick quilting, which it is said will resist the stroke of a sabre.

Mr. Thomas moreover considers the inhabitants of Oudipoor as more inclined to pomp and luxury than the other tribes.



It is however to be remarked, that when the honour of their women is concerned, or they are afraid of their being insulted, the Rajepoots of Oudipoor, in common with their brethren in the other states, not only make a desperate resistance, but if unsuccessful seldom survive their disgrace.

If the natural strength of this country, its internal resources, and, above all, the spirited and warlike character of its inhabitants, be considered with attention, it can surely, concludes Mr. Thomas, be no matter of wonder, that the subjugation of a country so difficult of access should be attended with innumerable obstacles; or that the hardy and independant chiefs, immured within their native fastnesses, should not only still be enabled to preserve themselves from the Mahratta yoke, but continue even to the present hour to enjoy their patrimonial estates in an undisturbed tranquillity.

We must now carry back our narrative to the commencement of Mr. Thomas's expedition against Luckwa; who, as before stated, had

taken a strong position on the frontiers of Oudipoor.

While on the march towards that country, Mr. Thomas was alarmed by a mutiny which broke out among his troops, occasioned by delay in the payment of their arrears. As an apology for a conduct so unmilitary, they urged, that as they were now marching towards the Deccan\*, their families who were left behind would sustain much inconvenience. Although there appeared some reason for the demand, Mr. Thomas deeming it a dangerous precedent to yield compliance, therefore gave them a denial. The mutineers, growing outrageous, wished to surround and take him prisoner: this he evaded by encamping apart from them with the soldiers who were still faithful. He then called in a body of cavalry to his assistance, when the mutineers advanced with their guns to attack him. Resolved to repress their insolence or perish in the attempt, Mr. Thomas now mounted his horse, and went to meet them. Several shots were fired

\* This word implies the south, in opposition to *ootur* or the north: *poorub* is the east, and *puchum* the west.

at him : but having resolutely seized on the ringleaders, he expelled them from the camp ; and the remainder, perceiving the fate of their comrades, returned to their duty.

He then proceeded against Luckwa. On the road he was joined by vakeels from the rajahs of Joudpoor, Jypoor, and Kishen Ghur, each of whom brought presents from their respective masters. It was now represented to Mr. Thomas, that Scindiah having pardoned Luckwa, it was therefore improper to proceed to hostilities with that chief ; but Mr. Thomas, who only consulted the interests of Ambajee in whose service he was now engaged, and from whom he had received positive orders to fight Luckwa wherever he came up with him, did not, from these considerations, think himself at liberty to desist. But the former mutiny among his troops, not having been properly quelled, from a mistaken lenity in Mr. Thomas, and unwillingness on his part to push matters to extremities, now broke out again with redoubled violence. With his usual promptitude, he seized on the ringleaders, and instantly caused one of them to be blown from the

mouth of a cannon ; the others were secured by putting them in irons : this prompt severity was attended with the happiest effect, the mutiny was entirely subdued, and was the last he ever experienced.

He was now joined by a brigade of troops under Mr. Sutherland, who came for the avowed purpose of opposing Luckwa. On uniting their force, they advanced towards Luckwa. That chief, as yet unable to make an effectual resistance, encamped near the pass leading to Oudipore, the nature of which has been before described. Into this pass he threw his heavy baggage and stores, a measure which on any other occasion would have proved his ruin ; but Luckwa had previously received information that the rana of Oudipore, being favourably inclined towards him, was ready to afford protection to himself and followers.

A plan of attack was now concerted by Mr. Thomas and Mr. Sutherland, and the ensuing morning named for carrying it into execution. That very night, however, Mr. Sutherland, without assigning any cause, to Mr. Tho-

mas's utter astonishment, thought proper to decamp, and leave him to conduct the operations against Luckwa with his own troops.

This circumstance inspired Luckwa with confidence ; and he, who from the untoward situation of his affairs, had before been humble, now became haughty in proportion to their alteration. He sent letters to the different chiefs in the neighbourhood, commanding them to join his standard. Three days after Mr. Sutherland's retreat, Mr. Thomas, leaving Ambajee with his troops to protect the baggage, advanced against Luckwa in order of battle ; but the action was at that time prevented by the coming on of a most tremendous storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, which induced Luckwa to halt. Mr. Thomas's position being favourable for cavalry to act, of which the enemy's force chiefly consisted, and far superior in number, he was desirous of changing it ; and accordingly, moving more to the left, he took post on a rising ground from whence he could have nothing to apprehend from an attack of horse. When the storm was over, Luckwa again advanced towards Mr.

Thomas ; but seeing his advantageous position, and having lost a number of men in his approach from the fire of Mr. Thomas's artillery, he thought proper to draw off the field. Mr. Thomas, after a severe and fatiguing service during the day-time, returned in the evening to his own camp.

At midnight, vakeels from Luckwa arriving in the camp, produced letters from Scindiah, in which that chief repeated his commands for hostilities to cease on both sides, he having nominated Luckwa to the government of all his possessions north of the Nerbuddah. In the morning a council of war being held, the different firdars each delivered his own opinion. Mr. Thomas, on his part, observed, that being employed by Ambajee for the express purpose of reducing the province of Mewar to his authority, he could consent to no terms in which the evacuation of that country by Luckwa was not a leading article.

After much negotiation, a proposal was made for both armies to march to the northern frontier, and there wait for fresh instructions from

Scindiah on the subject. Mr. Thomas, well apprised of the insincerity of Luckwa, knew that he only wished to gain time, in order to form a junction with a body of troops now on their march to join him from Ajemere, and to get that country in his rear, which, as the fort and city of Ajemere belonged to him, would enable him to receive a constant supply of provisions; for these reasons, therefore, he was averse to the proposal. He knew also, that their present situation near Oudipore would be much benefited when the periodical rains, which were now daily expected, should set in, as he would then be able to procure a supply of forage, of which they were in great want.

These points he submitted to Ambajee's consideration, but in vain, for that chief's principal officers having been gained over by bribes, declined acting against Luckwa, until answers to the propositions referred to Scindia should be received.

In those resolutions Mr. Thomas unwillingly acquiesced. The armies commenced their march, and although only at a distance of fifty



cofs (the rains having overtaken them in their route) fifteen days had elapsed before they reached the northern frontier. Luckwa having by this time been reinforced by the troops which he expected, as also by some from Oudipoor, peremptorily refused to evacuate the country. He accordingly recommenced hostilities, and marched against Mr. Thomas. Ambajees's troops, who were encamped on an extensive plain, were in consequence open to attacks of cavalry; Mr. Thomas with his usual prudence had taken post on the spot of ground surrounded on all sides by nullahs and ravines. In a council of war held on the occasion, it was determined that Ambajee's force should encamp in Mr. Thomas's rear, by which means they would be secure from any attempt of the enemy's horse. Prior to this determination of the council being known, a battalion who had begun to dress their victuals, could not be persuaded to move off until they had finished their meal; the consequence of this delay proved fatal; Luckwa, too late sensible of his error in not possessing himself of the ground occupied by Mr. Thomas, nevertheless attempted to take a redoubt that lay in his front; for

this purpose he advanced with resolution, but being soon compelled to retreat, he directed his infantry to remain on the defensive; and eager to revenge his ill success, at the head of a strong detachment of cavalry, he fell suddenly upon the battalion before mentioned, who in their defenceless state were almost cut to pieces. Mr. Thomas, leaving two battalions to cover Ambajee, now proceeded with the remainder to the attack of Luckwa's main body, but a heavy shower of rain falling, and the sudden swelling of the nullahs, prevented further hostilities on that day. The rain continued without intermission for eight days, during which time no opportunity occurred of renewing the contest; frequent skirmishes however took place. It was customary for Luckwa and some of his principal Sirdars, attended by a select body of horse, to pay daily visits to Mr. Thomas: they usually posted themselves between the camp and the town of Shahpoora, from whence he received supplies of grain.

To deceive the enemy on this occasion, Mr. Thomas was accustomed to change the

uniforms and colours of his own people ; and having by feints got within shot of the enemy, he frequently opened a smart cannonade ; one in particular, the enemy approaching so near, that Luckwa himself could be easily distinguished. Mr. Thomas, by a brisk and well-directed fire, compelled them to a speedy retreat, after a considerable loss in men and horses. These skirmishes, though harassing to the troops, did not occasion much loss to either party, who were now in daily expectation of receiving orders from Scindiah to desist from hostilities. Intelligence now arrived that Peron, taking advantage of Mr. Thomas's absence, had invaded the purgunnah of Jyjur, and was moreover committing depredations on other parts of his possessions. This intelligence he wished to keep secret, but Luckwa, who had previously received similar intimation, now made Mr. Thomas very handsome offers to induce him to join his standard, but these were resolutely rejected. Mr. Thomas moreover acquainted Luckwa, that though he might possibly leave the service of Ambajee at the termination of the present campaign, he could never become his enemy, nor connect himself

with those who were. This answer displeased Luckwa; he complained much in his durbar of Mr. Thomas, who he said was a man of a most unaccountable character; that although repeated orders had been received from Scindiah to cease hostilities, he could not be prevailed on to obey them; and finally charged him with nothing less than aiming at the expiration of Scindiah's authority, and the establishment of his own.

Not content with the falseness of these accusations, Luckwa privately sent emissaries into Mr. Thomas's camp to sow dissensions among his troops, but they being discovered by his hircarrahs,\* were seized, put into confinement, and there detained during the remainder of the campaign.

The arts used by Luckwa on this occasion having failed, Mr. Thomas conciliated the good opinion of his soldiers, by an assurance of speedily reconducting them to their own country. The force of Luckwa at this period

\* Messengers.

amounted to nine thousand cavalry, six thousand regular infantry, two thousand Rohillas, and about five or six thousand mercenaries, together with ninety pieces of artillery.

Mr. Thomas had only six battalions, by desertion much reduced, one hundred and fifty cavalry, three hundred Rohillas and twenty-two pieces of artillery.

With this force comparatively so small, he was compelled not only to provide for the safety of Ambajee, but the security of the camp, to escort provisions, and procure supplies of forage for the whole.

Several actions took place, in which Mr. Thomas was usually successful, having frequently driven his antagonist back to his camp. On one occasion Luckwa narrowly escaped a total defeat: he drew out his whole army, and advanced upon Mr. Thomas, who, at the time having only two battalions, was compelled to retire; Luckwa followed in his rear to the skirts of his encampment, when, being suddenly joined by three additional battalions and a sup-

ply of ammunition, unexpectedly turning on his pursuers, gave them a most severe check.

Luckwa returned in confusion with the loss of a great many men; and so great was the consternation, that the darkness of the night alone saved him from a total defeat. Between the camps there ran a nullah, the north side of which was occupied by the army of Luckwa; and the troops of Ambajee and Mr. Thomas were stationed on the south. Ambajee, in order to prevent the advance of Luckwa's artillery, who endeavoured to open upon him, fortified an advanced redoubt on the north side of the nullah, but too far detached from his main body to receive succour in case of an attack. For its defence, were stationed three battalions of sepoy, six pieces of cannon, and one thousand Ghosseins. To support these, three battalions were posted at a short distance in the rear. A heavy rain had fell for twenty four hours, which caused two large reservoirs to overflow their banks, by which means the nullah rising to a great height, became impassable, and thereby intercepted the communication between the camps. Luckwa availed

himself of this opportunity, and attacked the post before-mentioned with great vigour and resolution; his men in advancing to the assault were up to their necks in water; which resolute conduct infused such terror into the men in the redoubt, that being panick struck, they surrendered without firing a shot. The Ghosseins alone refused to submit; and, after a brave though fruitless resistance, were cut to pieces. Ambajee's troops, who before this disaster refused to fight, now deserted in great numbers. Luckwa also had by his intrigues induced the Shahpoora Rajah to join in hostilities against Mr. Thomas, whose supplies by this means were entirely cut off. Although he had provisions sufficient for the consumption of twenty days for his own troops, those of Ambajee had not more than three. Should they be compelled to retreat unsupported by him, they would most likely be cut off by their active and vigilant enemy. Mr. Thomas was distressed for ammunition; his superfluous stores having been left at Singanah, a place twenty coss distant from their present encampment: the distance did not permit his sending a small force to escort the stores, and from pre-



sent circumstances he was unable to detach a larger party. For these reasons, he thought it more advisable to march himself, and having procured the necessary supplies, to return to his former ground; but Ambajee's sick and wounded men having been left on the ground, Mr. Thomas, with his accustomed humanity, generously advanced money to procure them carriage to the place. In his retreat he was pursued by a party from Luckwa's army; but after several ineffectual attempts the enemy desisted, and he completed the remainder of his march unmolested. We have before had occasion to remark that Ambajee was sensible of his ill conduct in authorising an attack on Mr. Thomas's possessions, who had ever served him with fidelity; that chief now wrote letters excusing these attacks, and laying the blame on the enmity of Mr. Perron.

In fact, both Ambajee and Perron, supposing that Luckwa had been compelled to evacuate the Mewar, concluded there was no further occasion for Mr. Thomas's services; the present time, therefore, appeared to them most

favourable for seizing his country; but perceiving his resolute conduct and steady adherence to their interests during the late conflict, they ultimately grew ashamed of their proceedings, and desisted.

Mr. Thomas, though dissatisfied at the treatment he had experienced, nevertheless resolved, from prudential motives, to appear content; and the districts which had been taken from him having been restored, the matter was finally dropped.

Arriving at Singana, he completed his ammunition and other requisites, and immediately recommenced his march against Luckwa; that chief had invested a fort about thirty coss to the north east of Singanah. Advancing by slow and easy marches through the districts occupied by Agagee Mirtha, Mr. Thomas thought proper to punish that chief for his conduct on a late occasion, in having invited the country people to declare against him.

In a few days he arrived within twelve

miles of Luckwa's camp, which he intended to attack the next morning; but Luckwa, deeming himself unequal to the contest, suddenly decamped from the fort he was besieging, and having quitted the boundary in dispute, he in two marches reached his own districts in the province of Ajemere.

Letters had lately been received from Dowlut Rao Scindiah, enjoining Mr. Thomas to obey Luckwa, and put an end to the contest. To these he had uniformly replied, that being in the service of Ambajee, he could only pay obedience to the orders of that chief; and in this he was justified by express and repeated commands not to cease from hostilities until Luckwa had quitted the dominions of Oudipoore.

That object being now happily accomplished, Mr. Thomas employed himself in levying contributions to reimburse Ambajee for the expences incurred during the campaign. He collected near four lacks of rupees, a sum considerably beyond the actual expenditure, and

could have raised a great deal more, had not Mr. Perron about this time broke the treaty into which he had lately entered with Ambajee.

This treaty stipulated, that should Scindiah hereafter think proper to reinstate Luckwa in his authority, they were to act in concert, a measure by which security in their respective possessions would be established.

In this agreement it was also stipulated that Mewar should remain in Ambajee's possession. Mr. Perron, who now began to entertain a jealousy against Ambajee, entered into a private and separate treaty with Luckwa, whom he had gained over to his interest. The letters from Scindiah were produced, requesting Ambajee to withdraw his troops from the Mewar, and put Luckwa in possession of his country. Perron advised compliance with the order, and in case of refusal threatened to assist Luckwa in taking possession by force. In this state of the business, Ambajee wrote letters to his collectors and to Mr. Thomas, ordering them to

deliver over the country in dispute, and withdraw the troops. Mr. Thomas, on receiving a cypher from Ambajee, complied.

Mr. Perron now marched to Jypore; Ambajee remained behind; and not long after the transaction above related, desired Mr. Thomas to march to Duttiah. He was preparing to obey, when a contrary order arrived, desiring him to join the united force of Ambajee and Luckwa. Mr. Thomas, from such contradictory orders, suspected treachery, and that Luckwa wished only for this opportunity to effect his ruin.

Refusing therefore compliance with the demand, he commenced his march northward.

Luckwa now throwing off the mask, wished to send a force after Mr. Thomas in order to punish him, but was not able to raise a supply of money sufficient for the purpose. Mr. Thomas continued to levy contributions in the Ajemere province, through which he directed

his march, and now considered himself in a state of actual hostility against Luckwa.

His situation had by this time become critical; the army of Luckwa was but twenty coss to the eastward of him; that of Jypore lay in his front; and Perron himself was endeavouring to hurt him at the court of the Rajah. The bad water of the mountainous country of Mewar having affected his army, a third part of the troops were sick, but Luckwa's troops were in a state of insubordination; and the Rajah of Jypore and Mr. Perron were at present overawed by the presence of Colonel Collins, the British Ambassador at that court, who about the latter end of 1799 had arrived at Janaghur, to demand the delivery of the person of Vizier Alli, the spurious Nawaub of Oude.

In this state of affairs, Mr. Thomas, after eluding every attempt to oppose his progress, and having raised contributions to the amount of two lacks of rupees, arrived in his own territory, desirous of obtaining some repose from the fatigues of his late perilous campaign.

His repose however on this occasion was not of long duration ; the force which he had left behind to collect the revenues having accomplished their purpose, now joined him ; and finding himself at ease with regard to the Mahrattas, he resolved to make an incursion into the Punjaub, in order to punish Sahib Sing of Puttialah, who had undeservedly ill treated his sister for entering into the negotiations with Mr. Thomas the preceding year. That chief had, moreover, during Mr. Thomas's absence in the Mewar country, authorised depredations among his districts ; but hostilities were for the present prevented by the Seik chief agreeing to surrender certain villages, and paying a sum of money as a compensation for those depredations.

Mr. Thomas next turned his arms against the Rajah of Beykancer, who, as we have before had occasion to remark, on the termination of his late dispute, had given him false bills on the merchants of Jypore. That Prince had lately obtained some advantages over his neighbours the Battees, an extraordinary race with



whom he had long been at variance, and whose country, from its singularity of situation, as well geographical as statistical, merits a digression from the ordinary course of Mr. Thomas's narrative.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Descriptive account of the country of the Batties—singular manners and customs of the inhabitants—military operations against the Rajah of Beykaneer—Mr. Thomas returns to Jyjur.*

THE country of the Batties is bounded on the north by the Punjab and the river Sutledge, east by the district of Hurrianah, west by the desert, and south by Beykaneer.

It is fifty cofs from east to west, and about one hundred from north to south.

That part of the country best adapted for the purposes of cultivation is along the banks of the river Cuggur, extending from the town of Futtahbad to that of Batnier. The soil is uncommonly productive, which arises in a great measure from the immense body of water descending from the mountains during the rainy season; this causing the banks of the

river to overflow to an extent of several miles, leaves on the retiring of the waters a loamy earth, which rewards the labours of the peasant in the produce of an abundant harvest.

Where the river overflows, wheat, rice, and barley are plentiful, and in the higher parts of the country are likewise to be found those different species of grain which are common throughout India. The remainder of the Battie country, owing to a scarcity of water, is unproductive.

The course of the Cuggur river has already been laid down in our detail of the Punjab. It is here, therefore, sufficient to remark that during Mr. Thomas's residence at Batnier, he could perceive little vestige of what was called the ancient bed of this river; but from the scanty information he procured, it appeared to him that the river, though it formerly ran along the north side of the fort, its channel had been choked up by vast quantities of earth forced down from the mountains; and, according to the prevailing opinion of the natives, though now lost in the sands west of the city,

it formerly extended as far as the Sutledge, which it joined in the vicinity of Ferozepore.\*

Batnier, the capital of the district, and residence of the Rajah, is two hundred miles west of Delhi, and about forty south of Batinda. The towns of Arroah, Futtahbad, Sirsah, and Ranyah, constitute the other places of note in the Battie country; these towns, together with the numerous villages, afford a population sufficient to bring into the field an army of twenty thousand men, without detriment to the cultivation of the lands. Of late years, however, many of the Batties, migrating from their native country, have fixed their residence in the western parts of the dominions of Oude, and at the present day several families of this singular tribe are to be met with in the vicinity of Chandowfy, in Rohilcund.

As peculiarity in manners more distinctly serves to discriminate the genius and character of a people, a few of the singularities observ-

\* Consult the map.

able among the Batties may perhaps not be deemed unworthy of our notice. A desert separates them from any communication with the countries to the westward; parties are often formed for crossing this desert, in order to invade the nearest district. They set out numerous and well equipped; intelligent persons amongst them are selected by the rest as guides to the party, to whose orders, during the journey, they pay the most implicit obedience, and on arrival at the frontier of the enemy's country their authority is at an end.

For the performance of these journeys, they have camels, which are loaded with bread, water, and other necessary articles of provisions. This stock being previously sent off, is deposited at different parts of the desert, which extends from sixty to seventy cofs. These places are considered as points of rendezvous to meet with their supplies; not a drop of water, or provisions of any kind, being otherwise procurable; and should these supplies fail by any accident, inevitable death awaits them all.

The guides, whom we have before men-

tioned, become skilful by long experience and constant practice. Without the aid of a tree, or land mark of any description, to direct them in their march over this dreary desert, they seldom fail not only to ascertain the place where the provisions are deposited, but likewise to conduct the intrepid adventurers to the destined spot. It frequently happens, moreover, that individuals of the party, who, from heedlessness and inattention, stray from the caravan, oppressed by the multiplied evils of thirst, hunger, and fatigue, perish miserably in the desert.

" So where our wide Numidian wastes extend,  
" Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes descend,  
" Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play,  
" Tear up the sands, and sweep whole plains away.  
" The helpless traveller with wild surprise,  
" Sees the dry desert all around him rise,  
" And, smother'd in the dusty whirlwind, dies !"\*

In their progress during this singular march, the guides are directed by the Sun by day, and the North Star by night ; and with these unerring marks they are enabled to perform journeys which appear almost incredible.

\* See Addison's Cato.

These journeys are moreover performed with accuracy and exactness. Departing at night from a fixed or given point, and often steering different courses, by the aid of the signs above-mentioned, they will, after a march of thirty, forty, and even fifty cofs, return to the spot from whence they set out, and, with the exception of rain or cloudy weather, scarce ever deviate from their point of destination. Should they be pressed for provisions on their journey, or have consumed their ordinary stock, a bullock or calf, belonging to the party, is killed, roasted, divided, and eaten on the spot; and at the conclusion of this primitive meal, the company resume the journey with their accustomed alacrity.\*

We have hitherto seen the fairest side of the character of this extraordinary people. Candour requires us to state that they are cruel in their nature, savage and ferocious in the highest degree; that they have an utter abhorrence

\* Are not these traits the Scythian characteristics? and do we not in the foregoing description recognise the pastoral lives of the Nomades of antiquity?



of all the usages of civilized life, are thieves from their birth, and scruple not, in their predatory incursions into the neighbouring districts, though unresisted, to add murder to robbery.

This thievish spirit may be said to have reached even the throne itself, as the Rajah has not been ashamed to declare, in Mr. Thomas's hearing, that he willingly participated in the spoils thus collected by his own subjects. This fact was ascertained by Mr. Thomas from the Rajah himself, during a residence of two months in his camp : in other respects, a good and humane character. The Rajah spoke without the least appearance of shame of the depredations committed by his subjects. When it was remarked that the soil and climate of his country were sufficiently fertile to supply the wants of the inhabitants by the honest labours of the plough, he replied, that the small number of Rajpoots in his service, compared with the mass of the country people, did not allow him to restrain the latter in those unlawful acts, as any interference with so old and established a

custom would, in all probability, prove subversive of his own authority.

A people so enterprising must, no doubt, appear formidable to their enemies; yet if their utter contempt of subordination, and the weakness of their means of defence be duly considered; that they are a tumultuous rabble, void of order and discipline, it is matter of wonder that some of the neighbouring nations have not taken advantage of their weakness, and prevented this nest of banditti from interrupting their tranquillity. In their wars, or rather their depredations with the adjoining countries, they have been in general successful, and the territories of Sahib Sing, Loll Sing, and Baug Sing, chiefs of eminence among the Seiks, have frequently suffered by the inroads of this daring people, and been moreover not unfrequently compelled to purchase peace.

To these may likewise be added the country of the Balooches, west of the Sutledge; the district of Hurrianah; and the province of Beykaneer; all which have in turn sustained

their ravages, and by which means, more than two thousand villages, which were once populous, highly cultivated, and produced a revenue of from twenty to thirty lacks of rupees, have now become a barren waste.

Another trait in the character of the Batties is their permitting their women to appear in public unveiled, and without any species of concealment, though common in other parts of India. On the contrary, with the exception of the wives of their chiefs, who are in general Rajpoots, the females are universally admitted to move about in company with the men, tending their flocks and herds, and, like the Scythians of old, traversing from place to place in search of forage and water.

“ At th’ approach of night,  
“ On the first friendly bank he throws him down,  
“ Or rests his head upon a rock till morn,  
“ Then rises fresh, pursues his wonted game;  
“ And if the following day he chance to find  
“ A new repast, or an untasted spring,  
“ Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury.\*

\* See Addison’s Cato.

The Batties are of the Mahomedan religion. In common with other Muffulmans, they are fond of tobacco to excess; and whether on horseback in the field, at the plough, or in their domestic avocations, are never seen without the hookha.

It has been remarked that this people can bring into the field from twenty to thirty thousand men, but they are ill-armed, and without discipline.

The revenues of the Battie Prince arise chiefly from the plunder acquired by the incursions of his subjects into the neighbouring states, though it is difficult to ascertain the exact receipts, but they do not in general amount to more than ten lacks of rupees.

The trade of the Batties is very circumscribed, with the exception of the sale of their surplus grain, ghee, and cattle of different kinds: they have little interference with other states, and that chiefly with the petty merchants of Nohur and Behadra already mentioned, and with whom alone they hold a correspondence

from motives of religious veneration to the memory of Shaick Fereed, an eminent Mahomedan saint, who flourished about the eighth century of the Hijerah.

This veneration is carried so far as to claim protection in his name. Though deaf to the voice of mercy in other respects, and cruel from their natural disposition, yet in this instance the Batties restrain themselves with a moderation truly singular.

Such is represented by Mr. Thomas to be a faithful portrait of the mixed character of this extraordinary people; and if the leading features of it be considered attentively by a reflecting observer, a comparison with their barbarism, and the happy result arising from the advantages of civilised life in other parts of the world, may be made to advantage, though it still affords an impressive lesson of the mutability of human nature, and the caprice and instability of all human institutions.

The chiefs of the Batties were originally Rajpoots, but are now Mahomedans. About

six hundred years ago their ancestors migrated from the province of Jesselmere; and after several vicissitudes of fortune, at length settled as cultivators of the soil in the district at present called the Battie country.

The majority of the present inhabitants, who acknowledge the authority of the descendants of the chiefs aforementioned, were originally Jauts, inhabiting the western banks of the Sutledge, in the 29th degree of north latitude. They embraced the Mahomedan religion, and about one hundred years since were invited by the ancestors of the present rajah to cross the Sutledge, and settle in the vicinity of Batnien, where their descendants still continue to reside.

Resuming our narration, after this digression, it must now be remarked, that the local advantages possessed by the rajah of Beykaner had induced him to erect a fort six coss to the south-west of Batinda, the capital of the Battee tribe, which served in some measure to overawe those desperate marauders, or at least to check their predatory incursions into his own

country. In this fort, exclusive of the garrison, he stationed a large body of cavalry, who so annoyed the Batties by frequent sallies, in which they took such numbers of cattle, that the inhabitants entertained thoughts of emigrating from their own country altogether.

When Mr. Thomas reached the frontiers of Beykancer, the chiefs of the Batties, hearing of his arrival, were desirous of entering into a treaty with him; and, in order to secure him in their interests, offered the sum of 40,000 rupees, if he would reduce the fort abovementioned, and liberate them from their unpleasant situation.

The offer being accepted, after a march of ten days, Mr. Thomas reached the city of Bannier, the most western habitation in that part of India.\*

This city, occupied by the troops of Bey-

\* In this sense at least it is understood at present, there being no habitation west of it until you pass the Sutledge, from whence commences the country of the Balooches, who are at present tributaries to Zemaun Shah, king of Cabul.—Consult the map.



kaneer, was, from its natural position, almost inaccessible to an enemy, there being no water to be procured nearer than twelve miles. The garrison being numerous, Mr. Thomas thought it most eligible to batter in breach, which he did, and was making the necessary preparations for storming, when the enemy capitulated. He allowed them to march out with the honours of war, and immediately put the Battie chiefs in possession of the place.

Several other places were then taken possession of, and various actions took place, by which, and the unhealthiness of the climate, Mr. Thomas's troops were reduced to one third only of their original strength. This was the more unpleasant, as the brother of one of the chiefs abovementioned, who was at variance with him, commenced hostilities against Mr. Thomas, who, on account of the deficiency of his force, from the causes above stated, being scarcely equal to the encounter, was compelled to fortify his camp.

By night the enemy made frequent attacks; but, unsuccessful in all attempts, at length gave up the point, and withdrew their army.

Mr. Thomas then marched and took possession of the town of Futtahbad, which with several others he burnt, and would now, in all probability, have got possession of the whole country, had not the enemy at this time received assistance from their neighbour, the Seik chief of Puttialah. That chief, having sent one thousand cavalry to their aid, and concluded a treaty of alliance, Mr. Thomas did not deem the present moment favourable for a prosecution of hostilities. He therefore returned to Jyjur, in order to afford some relief to his people from the distempers they had contracted in the course of the campaign.

About this time, Luckwa, through the intrigues of Mr. Perron at Scindiah's durbar, had been again superseded in his command. To hasten his downfall, and if possible take him prisoner, Perron marched against him with his whole force.

But Luckwa, leaving his camp and baggage a prey to the enemy (who on their arrival were too much taken up in plundering to follow in the pursuit), and having previously sent

off his family to seek an asylum in the dominions of Joudpore, thus effected his own escape.

Among the Rajpoot states, the situation of Joudpore is deserving of particular attention; and we shall therefore, as on similar occasions, turning aside from the detail of military transactions, embrace the opportunity thus afforded of taking a retrospective sketch of the resources of the country, as well as present our readers with an account of some of the manners and customs peculiar to this singular people.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Geographical description of Joudpoor or Marwar*  
—*Manners and customs of the inhabitants—*  
—*History—Mr. Thomas's military operations*  
—*Capture of Bhaut—Transactions in the ter-*  
*ritories of Roy Kellaun.*

**J**OUDPOOR or Marwar is bounded on the north by Beykaneer, north-west by Jesselmere, and west by the desert; on the south-west by the country of the Sindys, south by the province of Guzurat, south-east by Mewar, and east by the dominions of Jypoor.

It is in length two hundred and twenty cofs, and in breadth one hundred and eighty, at the computation of two British miles to the cofs.

This extent of country is supposed formerly to have contained from eight to ten thousand villages, including the capital towns within its range. The population was then great, but at present it possesses not more than five thou-

land inhabited villages, with a considerable decrease of population. The southern, south-eastern, and eastern frontiers of Joudpoor are abundantly fertile. The land is well watered by streams, which, as in Mewar, flow from the mountains. It yields wheat, barley, and other kinds of grain common in India. Exclusive of these advantages, lead mines are found, which considerably add to the revenues of the state. The imports into Joudpoor consist of cloths, shawls, spices, opium, rice, sugar, steel, and iron. They export salt, camels, bullocks, and horses: the latter are strong, boney, and of high stature. The bullocks are of a very large size, as are likewise the camels. In short, the breed of cattle in general is superior to that of the neighbouring states.

The inhabitants of Joudpoor are Rhatore Rajepoots. They are not only a more comely race of men as to person, but are braver, possess a higher sense of honour, and are more independent than their surrounding neighbours. Mr. Thomas ascribes these distinguishing characteristics to physical causes, to the influence of climate, and to their intermarrying with the

purest cast of the Rajepoot tribes. These are the Seefodyah, the Kutchwah, the Adda, and the Bawtee. To these causes may be added the good examples set them, both as to manners and morals, by a succession of wise and prudent princes, who, first by their achievements in war abroad, and afterwards by the care they took of their affairs at home, in the internal regulations of their country, have contributed in a very high degree to ameliorate the character and dispositions of their subjects.

The Rhatore Rajepoots are mild in their manners, and are possessed of a natural politeness which renders their society extremely agreeable. When a Rhatore has passed his word for protection, it may strictly be relied on. They are averse to litigious controversy. In their social conversations they carefully avoid disputes, and pay the greatest attention to the person who is speaking. In their hospitality they exceed the bounds of more civilised nations: for so attentive are they to the performance of this duty, that, in the interior parts of the country, the head of a village will not sit



down to eat his own meal until he has been satisfied that travellers and strangers have received every accommodation which his village affords. A rare and singular instance of primeval simplicity of manners!

They delight in warlike exercise, are fond of the chase, and firing their matchlocks. Retired after the fatigues of hunting, they are accustomed to hold social assemblies. They listen with great earnestness and eagerness to the *bauhtee*, or poets, who, like the bards of old, recite in heroic numbers the warlike deeds of their ancestors.

In the administration of justice they are alike singular. Murder, the foulest of crimes, is seldom punished with death; and for this reason, that it scarcely ever occurs, except when occasioned by a spirit of revenge for personal injuries: and for this they have the sanction of custom from time immemorial.

Theft is punished by banishment; smaller crimes by a reprimand, which, from the spirit of the Rhatore Rajepoot, generally terminates



in a voluntary exile from his native country, where he cannot endure to live after being subjected to reproach. In this, likewise, the spirit of this extraordinary race is conspicuous: a man who goes into voluntary exile may if he pleases, after a stated period, return to his native place; whereas the possibility of return is rigidly precluded to him who is banished for the degrading vice of theft. Although the Rajepoot chiefs, in their respective districts, assume to themselves an exclusive and arbitrary right over the lives and property of their subjects, yet it is not considered by the natives as a hardship, as their mild, conciliating sway renders easy the condition of the peasantry.

Fugitives of all descriptions from the neighbouring countries are received without distinction; and, except in cases of theft and murder, are sure of protection and support. So high a sense do they entertain of the laws and rights of hospitality, that they not only refuse to deliver up the delinquents, but are even accustomed to assist in forwarding them through the country to the confines of the neighbouring state.

It does not appear that a custom so singular obtains in any other part of Hindoostan. In the management of their domestic concerns, the Rhatore Rajepoots are no less remarkable for their attention to the female part of the family.

A plurality of wives, though admitted by the laws of the country, is seldom practised, except among the princes and great men, who on these occasions are actuated by motives of policy and ambition. Among this tribe of Rajepoots, the mother of the eldest son is held in most respect.

Females, on the death of their husbands, often resign themselves to the flames with the most heroic fortitude.

This act is however voluntary. But, in the opinion of the Rajepoots themselves, those females would be dishonoured in the estimation of their countrywomen who preferred dragging on a reproachful existence. They would be shunned in society; and at the house of their father, or that of their father-in-law,

generally be compelled to pass the remainder of their lives in solitary widowhood.

From the early period of six years of age, all Rajepoot females are concealed from the sight and conversation of men, except their nearest relations. In the table of consanguinity on this occasion are included fathers, uncles, brothers, and cousins.

With these exceptions, a Rajepoot lady would consider her reputation as sullied by exposure to the sight of a man. To so high a pitch indeed do they carry their proud sense of honour in regard to the female character, that it not unfrequently terminates in a manner most ferocious and lamentable.

When an honourable Rajepoot, whose family is with him, finds himself surrounded by the enemy, and a force so superior that the hope or possibility of escape is utterly excluded, he first enquires whether, if by surrender, he can secure the honour of his family. Should this be found impracticable, or even doubtful, he forms and immediately executes his desperate

project. Clothing himself in a yellow dress, which is the symbol of despair, he, in company with others of his nearest relations, repairs to the apartments of the women, when the whole of the females are involved in a promiscuous and indiscriminate slaughter; the women themselves, on this occasion, not unfrequently raising their hands against their own lives!

On the completion of this horrid deed, the furious Rajepoot, rushing out like a lion, bears down every thing before him: it is death alone that can satisfy him for the loss of his tenderest and dearest connections. In this instance alone will he strike a falling foe. The act which he has lately committed works him up to a state of absolute insanity. Despair gives him courage more than mortal; and if, by his enthusiastic and furious onset, he should chance to overcome the enemy, though ever so superior in point of numbers, when opposition is absolutely at an end, and his frame exhausted with fatigue, is on the point of yielding to nature, he disdains to survive the loss of his family, but terminates the awful scene by generously plunging his sword into his own bosom!

For these and other obstinate prejudices, the Rajepoots have been accused of cruelty ; but it must be considered, in extenuation of the act, that this resolution is founded on principle ; it is imbibed in their infancy, and almost sucked in with their parent food ; that it is justified by custom and precedent, and that a Rajepoot who should survive the dishonour of his wife and family, would be treated by his brethren to the remainder of his life with contempt and never-ending reproach.

Although the circumstances above related do sometimes occur, it is by no means frequent, since the spirit of this people being known, it is not difficult to be avoided.

Throughout Hindoostan the sanctity of the haram is in general respected ; and, except in cases of resistance, hostility is seldom carried to extremity ; while on the contrary it not unfrequently happens that, by a previous stipulation between the contending parties, the females of either family are accustomed to ask and to receive the protection of their enemies.

The Rhatores intermarry with other tribes, but of the purest blood, though they will not give their children either to the Bundeelahs, Scindiahs, or Holkars, whom they consider of inferior cast and impure blood.

The custom of putting to death the females of the family, as remarked on a former occasion, likewise obtains among the Rhatore Rajepoots; although one of their late princes, rajah Beejah Sing, by prohibiting the shedding of blood of any kind throughout his dominions, endeavoured to reclaim them from this sanguinary prejudice; the present sovereign of Joudpoor, by name Becun Sing, being a weak prince, effeminate, and luxurious, his subjects have already relapsed into their ancient and most abhorred custom. The chief force of Joudpoor is in cavalry, and has always been considered as formidable.

Their horses are good; and their strength in cavalry Mr. Thomas computes at twenty-five thousand men; though, since the accession of the late rajah, and in their wars with the Mah-rattas, they have seldom been able to bring into



the field more than twenty thousand Rhatore Rajepoots.

The rajah of Joudpoor has generally in his pay from four to six thousand mercenaries, two thousand of which are cavalry; and in cases of emergency he might expect to be joined by the troops of Beykaneer. His force in cavalry may on the whole be estimated at thirty thousand men.

On their infantry, like many others in the interior parts of India, they place but small reliance, being seldom employed except in the garrisons.

The artillery is numerous, and consists of several hundred pieces of cannon, most of which were taken by the ancestors of the present rajah, when that prince surprised the camp of the emperor Aurung Zebe, in the defiles of the Rhatore mountains, on the return of the imperial army from the Deccan.\*

\* Consult Dow's History of Hindoostan, vol. iii.



This artillery however, several of the pieces being so much honeycombed from age, and almost all of them destitute of carriages, cannot excite much apprehension. The arms of a Rhatore Rajepoot consists of a scimitar, made of a species of iron called *sarohce*, which, though well calculated for cutting, is brittle in substance; a spear, and some of them have matchlocks, though in general the Rhatores trust to their swords.

Of their bravery we have before spoken; but their singularity of character extends even to their method in fighting, as they will not kill a flying enemy, or shed blood when resistance ceases.

Averse to plunder, though even in the enemy's country, they will not indulge themselves in predatory warfare; a practice so common with the Mahrattas and other of their neighbours. It is in actual combat alone they are truly formidable. In the charge of cavalry in particular, Mr. Thomas thinks they are superior to most of the horsemen in India; but

when headed by their prince in person, or by a favourite and successful general, they are in his opinion irresistible.

The revenues of Joudpoor chiefly arise from the *rah darees*, or road-duties. There is likewise a duty levied on merchandise of all kinds, the exclusive revenue produced from the poll-tax in capital cities, which is considered as a kind of privy purse to supply the expences of the sovereign, and a stipulated annual tribute from those chiefs who hold their lands in *Jaiedad*, for the payment of the troops.

These together may amount to about twenty lacks of rupees, which is the sole property of the rajah. With regard to other funds, especially the tribute which is paid to the *Mahrattas*, the extra expences incurred by government in raising additional troops in times of emergency, and various other contingencies, these are subscribed for by the principal landholders; and the money thus consolidated is thrown into the general treasury of the state.

The *Rhatore Rajepoots* attribute their origin

and first settlement in Joudpoor to the following tradition, as handed down in regular succession from father to son.

About seven hundred years since, three brothers of a noble family at Kinnouge quitted that city by mutual agreement, and travelled westward towards Jesselmere.

Their names were Joud Sing, Kundal Sing, and another whose name Mr. Thomas has forgotten.

In their route to the place above-mentioned they passed by the town of Joudpoor, at that time an inconsiderable place, inhabited by Bramins; who, happening to be at variance with their neighbours, solicited and obtained the assistance of the three brothers, and were, in consequence, soon put in possession of their rights. On the performance of this service, the Bramins would gladly have got rid of their powerful allies; but they liking the country were desirous of settling in it altogether, and for this purpose they sent for their respective families, who had been left at Kinnouge.

The Bramins, however, at first resisted this intrusion, but in the end being detected in a conspiracy to assassinate the Rajepoot chiefs, they fell a sacrifice to their own treachery, and were themselves, without mercy, put to the sword.

From that period the authority of the Rajepoots commenced in Joudpoor, and Joud Sing, as the elder brother, gave his own name to the place where they had first stopped. He founded the present city of that name, which in process of time became the capital of the Rhatore Rajepoots.

Kundul Sing, the second brother, took possession of the neighbouring territory of Beykaneer, where he settled with his family : and the descendants of the third brother at present occupy the district of Behadra.

Mr. Thomas not choosing to remain inactive, and arrears to a large amount being due to him from his northern districts, he resolved to march thither. In his route he punished a numerous and daring banditti, who had frequently an-

noyed him by their predatory attacks; and who, having been joined by numbers of the peasantry who were assembled in considerable force at the village of Seesana, now confident in their numbers, issued forth from their strong hold to give battle to Mr. Thomas on the plain. But their temerity proved their destruction; for his troops, after a desperate conflict, not only completely defeated the enemy by driving them off the plain, but followed so close at their heels as to enter the town along with the fugitives, where they killed and wounded upwards of seven hundred men. His own loss on this occasion was considerable; but the capture of this place struck such terror throughout the country, that the remainder submitted without a struggle.

Mr. Thomas having raised the necessary contributions, and being satisfied in regard to the arrears due to his troops, next levied contributions on the districts held by Simbonauth, one of Luckwa's collectors in the neighbourhood of Schaurunpore. Simbonauth was at that time in the Doo Ab, with a numerous though confused and disorderly rabble. He had lately sustained some smart skirmishes with the troops,

sent against him by Mr. Perron ; but his troop having been corrupted by means of a large sum of money, which Perron found means to distribute, Simbonauth was at length necessitated to submit, and give up part of his districts, to secure the remainder from the grasp of the Mahrattas.

Mr. Thomas having thus raised the sum required, returned to Hansi. About this time Mr. Perron, who had in vain exerted himself to obtain possession of the person of Luckwa, or his family, returned from the army. Well aware that little was to be gained by open hostilities with the Rajpoots, he marched back to Delhi, "in order," says Mr. Thomas, "to gather easier laurels from the grain merchant, Simbonauth who was by this time once more ready to attempt the recovery of the districts which he had been so recently compelled to resign."

Soon after his arrival at Delhi, Mr. Perron with a considerable body of men, having crossed the Jumna, passed into the Dooab, to act against Simbonauth ; at the same time he dispatched



letters to Mr. Thomas, which he pretended to have received from the Paishwa, containing orders enjoining him to assist Luckwa, who was declared to be the protector of the family of the deceased Scindiah, and directed to remain in the service of his widow. These letters Mr. Thomas knew to be forged, and was moreover well aware that Luckwa was at this time, as he had ever been, his declared and inveterate enemy; and on several occasions had endeavoured to overthrow his authority, by promising grants of his country in the Paishwa's name to other people. This behaviour induced Mr. Thomas to regret not having afforded aid to Simbonauth; as he might at this juncture not only have saved him, but crushed those who not long after effected his downfall.

Simbonauth had requested Mr. Thomas to come to his assistance, but without success.

Mr. Thomas however offered him an asylum within his own districts. He advised him not to think of resisting Mr. Perron with his present confused and disorderly force. This advice, though salutary, was of no avail; for



Simbonauth, confiding in the protestations of his followers, resolved to remain in the Dooab, and wait the approach of the enemy. The event manifested the truth of Mr. Thomas's prediction ; as on the actual appearance of the enemy, the troops of Simbonauth not only deserted, but actually endeavoured by treacherous means to seize his person, and deliver him up a prisoner. Disappointed in their treacherous designs, they went over to the enemy ; but not before Simbonauth had fortunately effected his escape.

Repairing to the Punjab, he there fought and obtained an asylum in the districts of Baug Sing, chief of Booreah.

At this time Mr. Thomas received intelligence that several of his districts, particularly those in the vicinity of Hansi, were in a state of actual rebellion, and had plundered the merchants resorting to that place of a very considerable sum of money, and other valuable effects. Among others concerned in this revolt, were the zemindars of Bulhalli, Sorani, Jumal-pore, and Bhuwaul.

This last mentioned town is computed to contain ten thousand inhabitants, who retain a character so remarkable for bravery, that several armies have been defeated in attempting the reduction of that place. Among others, the late Ismaeel Beg, with sixteen thousand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon, besieged it for a long time in vain. The inhabitants are Rahtore Rajepoots, and possess the accustomed valour of that tribe; although this character has in some instances been sullied by a cruelty not usual among the rest of their brethren.

It being the rainy season when this rebellion broke out, and Mr. Thomas apprehending the most serious consequences if the cultivation of the lands was prevented, marched with all possible expedition towards the rebels, and first appeared before the town of Bulhalli.

In that place were three thousand men, who, although well armed, were badly supplied with provisions. He might, according to his usual custom, have stormed, but thinking from the number and bravery of the garrison the event might prove doubtful, had recourse to the surer means of reducing it by a blockade.

Having erected a chain of redoubts, well fortified and supplied with artillery, he completely encircled the place, encompassing the whole by a ditch twelve feet in depth. As no provisions could enter the town, the garrison after some days experienced distress; they made repeated sallies, but having to cross the ditch before they could reach the redoubts on the plain, they became exposed to the whole fire of the trenches, and were in consequence defeated in every successive attack. To increase their annoyance, Mr. Thomas began to draw off the water from a neighbouring reservoir, which reduced them to the necessity of drinking the water from the wells within the fort; this being bitter in its quality rendered it unwholesome, and caused sickness within the garrison. Provisions now became so scarce that nothing remained but damaged grain.

During the siege of this place the inhabitants of Bhowanee, a neighbouring town, had made several attempts to throw in succours, but in vain. To retaliate upon them, Mr. Thomas ordered his cavalry to make excursions in the neighbourhood of Bhowanee,

and plunder the country. Their exertions were attended with success: upwards of one hundred and fifty persons were killed in resisting, and the cavalry brought away with them three thousand head of cattle, which they deposited safely in Mr. Thomas's camp. This last attack having deterred the people of Bhowance from any further interruption, and no succours as yet having arrived from Mr. Perron, the garrison, seeing no likelihood of assistance from without, consented to capitulate. Composed of people belonging to different villages, and having separate interests to adjust, they could not come to any determination among themselves. By this time, from the want of provisions, from disease, and other causes, they were reduced to one third of their original number; even of the few that remained several were then ill. Mr. Thomas, desirous of putting at end to these altercations, drew out his troops with intent to storm the place; but the enemy perceiving his resolution, at last consented to capitulate; they agreed to pay him the sum of 30,000 rupees, and to deliver up the fort with the property contained therein. Hostages having been

taken for the performance of these articles, Mr. Thomas returned to Hansi, where he employed himself in completing ammunition and stores, fully determined to invade the Punjab, and punish the rajah of Pattialah, for his treacherous conduct in breaking the treaty, by affording aid to the Batties in the preceding year.

That chief (whose force consisted of fifteen hundred cavalry and one thousand infantry) was at this time besieging his sister in her fort. Assured of speedy relief, this gallant lady still continued to hold out; and Mr. Thomas's preparations being at length completed, he first marched to her relief. On his approach the rajah thought proper to raise the siege, and retire within the fortifications of Sonaum.\* Thither he was followed by Mr. Thomas, who intended to have stormed the place; but the unexpected arrival of Tarah Sing, an ally, and son-in-law of the rajah, with a very consider-

\* Sonaum, a large town, situated 22 coss to the westward of Pattialah.

able force, for the present prevented the attack.

By this time also the neighbouring peasantry having joined the rajah's standard, determined Mr. Thomas to relinquish his intention until a more favourable opportunity. Numerous bodies of cavalry continued daily to hover round the skirts of his army during the march, by which he sustained great annoyance. After a fatiguing march of four-and-twenty miles, on coming to the ground, he was surprised by the sound of the Thamuck.\*

He encamped near the town of Bellud. A large body of the enemy, who were concealed in a neighbouring jungle, waited the event with impatience, and hoped to take advantage of the disorder of Mr. Thomas's troops, whilst attacked by the town's people, and cut them to pieces. It is here necessary to remark, that

\* Thamuck, a large military drum, in common use in the north-west parts of India, the sounding of which is always considered as a prelude to hostilities.



in consequence of the continued state of warfare in those parts, the villages and towns are strongly fortified, and capable of making a desperate resistance against the attacks of their predatory neighbours.

The walls of the town aforementioned were nine feet thick, with a ditch twenty feet in depth, and the garrison numerous. Mr. Thomas, therefore, without loss of time, made preparations for storming before he could be attacked by the enemy. By a vigorous assault, he carried the place with the loss of only eighty of his own people, though with upwards of five hundred of the enemy; and though he exerted every means in his power to prevent a continuance of the slaughter, he was unsuccessful: the rancorous enmity which subsisted between his own troops, who were moosulmauns, and the Seiks being so great, that the former never omitted any opportunity of revenging themselves on the latter in the severest manner.

The town's people who survived the assault were ransomed by a large sum of money. Mr.



Thomas's views were now directed to dividing the enemy's force, which consisted of ten thousand men, to raise contributions in the neighbouring districts, and also to explore the country. To effect these objects, he encamped in a central position between the towns of Pattialah and Sonaum. Desirous however of punishing Tarah Sing, whom, as we have before seen, had come to the assistance of the rajah, Mr. Thomas now determined to advance towards Malhere Kotela, the enemy's principal residence. This town is situate on the Punjab frontier; the road lay through a thick jungle, well adapted for an ambuscade. He was marching quietly along, when a smart firing was heard in the front of his line. Instantly repairing to the spot, he found that a party who had advanced to reconnoitre were attacked by a superior body of the enemy. By the time Mr. Thomas arrived, the party attacked had got out of the jungle to the entrance of an extensive plain; and he now perceived that the present assault had been made only with a view to call off his attention from the large and populous town of Bhaut.

This town was garrisoned by the troops of Tarah Sing, to the amount of three thousand men.

Mr. Thomas nevertheless resolved to storm it. The walls of the fort were twelve feet thick and thirty in height; four strong bastions, well fortified with cannon, commanding the town below, as well as the plain adjoining, it was in all respects a place difficult of access. Mr. Thomas himself, at the head of a select body of his troops, entered nearly opposite the centre of the town; whilst Mr. Hopkins, the son of a field officer in the East India Company's service, now in Mr. Thomas's employ, led on his party to storm the eastern angle. The affair was desperate; and though the town was soon set on fire, the enemy made a brave and determined resistance. Mr. Hopkins gallantly advancing to the attack, stormed in the quarter assigned him, though at the moment of success he was unfortunately shot through the body, and several other officers were killed or disabled, the enemy still keeping up a tremendous fire from the fort. The affair presented a doubtful aspect. A large

body of cavalry making their appearance without the town, Mr. Thomas's troops, though in possession of the place, whether from the excessive heat occasioned by the surrounding flames, or the severe fire they sustained from the enemy in the fort, were inclined to retreat. At that critical instant Mr. Thomas, having with the greatest presence of mind brought up a six-pounder close to the gate of the fort, by repeated discharges almost demolished it; the enemy then gave up the contest, and by submission saved a further effusion of blood on both sides.

The lives of the people within the fort were granted, but Mr. Thomas compelled them to pay him fifty thousand rupees.

The chief of Malhere Kotelah now thought proper to change sides; and being like other Patans, adopted the practice of his countrymen by connecting himself with the party from whom he expected to derive most advantage.

He agreed to pay Mr. Thomas a sum of

money, and moreover sent a body of troops under the command of his nephew to join him.

Kurrum Sing a Seik chief, and ruler of the district of Shahabad, had for some time been hostile towards Mr. Thomas; and though at his first settlement he had made professions of friendship, very soon altered his conduct. To encourage his enmity towards Mr. Thomas, the rajah of Pattialah offered his daughter in marriage to the son of Kurrum Sing, and their union was followed by an open declaration of war. The troops of Pattialah were reinforced with five thousand Seiks. On the junction of these troops, a grand council of war was held; and it was there resolved that a general combination of the Seik chiefs should be formed, to expel Mr. Thomas from the country. They considered him as a dangerous person, and well knew that if he was successful on the present occasion, they might hereafter expect the most serious ill consequences to their tribe from his future incursions.

Mr. Thomas, by his spies in the enemies'

camp, received correct information of all their deliberations, but had no apprehension for the event; being well convinced, that a body of men, though ever so numerous, being under the command of so many different leaders, each of them influenced by their own separate interest, were incapable of executing any plan with that degree of promptness which in military transactions can alone ensure success.

A circumstance now arose that turned the scale much in the enemy's favour.

Roy Kellaun, an independant chief on the north-western frontier of the Punjab,\* and whose revenue amounted to five lacks of rupees, had lately died, and was succeeded by his eldest son Roy Elias, then a youth.

The Ramnee, his mother, in consequence of the tender age of her son, thought proper to assume the reins of government; and though desirous of doing all the justice in her power, was, from inexperience, wholly unfit to transact

\* Consult the map.

the affairs of her country. The neighbouring Seiks, who, during the life-time of the late rajah, had, through his policy and good management, continued on friendly terms, now perceiving the unprotected state of his infant son, joined in invading his territories ; which having plundered and overrun, they soon, with the exception of a few forts (from their natural strength deemed inaccessible) brought under subjection the greater part of the country. About this time Zemaun Shah, king of Cabul, arrived at Lahore, a city fifty coss distant from the young rajah's capital. This proximity induced the princess regent to implore the assistance of that monarch, in reinstating her son in his authority ; and for that purpose she accordingly dispatched a vakeel to Lahore.

The Seiks, whether it rose from a dread of being attacked by Zemaun Shah, or they were apprehensive that assistance would be brought from another quarter, shortly after this event thought proper suddenly to evacuate the country, when the peasantry returned to their alle-

giance. But now a new obstacle arose, which not only prevented for the present a continuance of the Rannee's tranquillity, but plunged her into still deeper misfortunes than those she had before experienced.



## CHAPTER XIII.

*Singular account of an impostor among the Seiks—  
His pretensions; he is detected by a Seik  
chief—Threatens Mr. Thomas—is compelled  
to fly—reduction of Kanhori—attack of Sefee-  
doo—termination of the campaign.*

IN the Seik army was a man of the Cuttry tribe, ambitious, artful, and intriguing, and whose knowledge of mankind, from long and deep reflection, had convinced him it was no difficult matter to render his countrymen the dupes of his own artifices: this man, who pretended to trace his lineage from the great prophet Nanick, the founder and lawgiver of the Seiks, had a regular correspondence with some of his creatures in the Abdali camp, and from time to time received intelligence of the motions and intentions of Zemaun Shah. Informed by his emissaries that the Shah had determined to return to his own dominions, and the exact time being specified for his setting out,

this artful impostor assembled the chiefs of the Seik army, and pretending to the gift of inspiration, acquainted them that during the preceding night he had been favoured with a visit from their prophet ; who after lamenting the hardships under which his favourite tribe had laboured by the invasion of Abdallis, he had, through the permission of the Almighty, been enabled to prevail on Zemaun Shah to return to his own country, and that at the moment they were now discoursing that prince had actually commenced his march.

Surprised at the apparent absurdity of this declaration, many of the chiefs treated the information with deserved ridicule ; but when at three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, intelligence arrived of the actual march of the Shah, as predicted by the impostor, the whole army appeared struck with contrition for their error, and insisted on their chiefs deprecating the anger of this descendant of Nanick, by expiatory offerings, and presents of all kinds.

Fully satisfied with the success of his stratagem, he now affected a lofty deportment, and

it was with great difficulty that the chiefs prevailed on him to accept the proffered offerings; nor did he wholly relent until they offered to return with an army to Lodhana, and put him in possession of the country of the unfortunate Roy Elias; to this he not only yielded a ready assent, but added a falsehood to his former deceit, by informing the chiefs that the late invasion of the Shah had been solely owing to the intrigues of the Rannee, aided by the machinations of her neighbour the Patan chief of Malhere, who had invited the Abdalli Prince to take possession of the Punjab.

The Seik army daily increasing in numbers by accessions of the peasantry, who joined them from all quarters, now directed their march to Malhere, and resolved to begin their operations with the siege of that place.

The Patans who were in Malhere came out of the city to encounter the Seiks on the plain, but the presence of their pretended prophet inspiring them with more than usual confidence, the Patans were repulsed, and driven

from the field with great slaughter ; and the Seiks entering the town along with the fugitives, the place was quickly taken, while the few who remained, having quitted the city, sought refuge in the fort of Kotelah.

The Seiks prepared to follow up their victory by laying siege to that place ; and so great was the consternation of the Patans, that though it was defended by a very high wall, a ditch, and contained a garrison of 600 men, they were utterly unable to resist ; and had it not been for the assistance of their ally, the rajah of Pattialah, who sent a body of his own troops for their protection, they must have surrendered at discretion.

This addition of force however rendered abortive all attempts of the Seiks to reduce Kotelah ; they therefore separated, though a considerable body, who to all appearance still adhered to the impostor, dispersed themselves over the Rannee's country, of which, after much predatory warfare, they got possession.

Reduced to a situation truly deplorable, that

princes had now recourse to negotiation ; and through the mediation of the chief of the Patialah concluded a treaty with the Seiks, by which she agreed to pay the sum of two lacs of rupees, a part of which was deposited in cash, and the remainder in jewels, horses, and warlike stores.

The impostor however, who still had a large force, would agree to no terms but the actual surrender of the whole of the country ; and though the young rajah, with a view to mollify the severity of his demand, waited in person upon him, threw himself at his feet, and in terms most submissive implored an abatement of his former resolve, he continued inexorable.

In this state of affairs the impostor, who had now got possession of the person of the young rajah, refused to let him return to his mother, and declared he should remain a prisoner until he complied with the terms proposed.

But Kurrum Sing, one of the chiefs who had hitherto been in the service of the impos-

tor, now repented of his credulity, and resolved to protect the person of the rajah, and conduct him in safety to his own residence. This he resolutely effected, in spite of every effort to the contrary; he conducted the youth to Malhere, and there left him in quiet possession of his capital

This conduct excited much indignation in the impostor, who now took upon him to censure the behaviour of Kurrum Sing on all occasions, and to threaten him with the vengeance of heaven for thus opposing the views of an inspired person. Kurrum Sing however only waited for an opportunity to detect his hypocrisy, and expose him to the world, which fortunately soon happened.

To preserve the reputation he had thus acquired for sanctity, the impostor, among other tricks, used frequently, at night and by stealth, to deposit a vessel filled with sweetmeats under ground. This in the morning was produced to his followers as a present from the divinity, declaring at the same time that

none should partake of the contents but such as vowed, to the utmost of their abilities, to join in the extermination of the Mooffulman race, as enemies to their own prophet and his religion.

This farce was for a long time continued, and had served to impress the minds of his followers with the highest respect and veneration for his character, but the time was now arrived for his detection. Kurrum Sing, who was well versed in the arts and deceits practised by *fakeers* \* upon the vulgar, directed some of his own people to repair privately to the place where the vessel was deposited; and after having thrown away the contents, to give a more effectual air of ridicule to the discovery, to replace them by a quantity of horse dung. In the morning, when as usual the vessel was brought out, the company assembled shewed marks of the utmost horror and astonishment.

But the pretended prophet, not dismayed by the accident, replied to their enquiries with a

\* Itinerant mendicants.



sedate and unruffled countenance, that the reason of this extraordinary change was manifest, as the great founder of their religion had chosen this method to evince his resentment of their late impious conduct, in concluding a treaty with Mooffulmaun chiefs, who were the acknowledged enemies of their own faith.

This harangue, however impudent, would have been attended with the desired effect, had not Kurrum Sing at that instant stepped forth from the crowd of chiefs, by which the impostor was encircled, and in the most public manner, accompanied with sarcastic observations and much levity, exposed the whole of the deceit which he had caused to be practised the preceding night.

The charm was now dissolved ; the remaining chiefs, ashamed of having submitted to an imposition so gross, now abandoned him to his fate, and he was left with only about 1000 of his own people ; but the peasantry of the country, who from restlessness of spirit are

always ready to change their rulers, still adhered to his interests, and having joined him in great numbers, brought with them an abundant supply of provisions and other necessities.

The Rannee, without protection, was in no condition to resist; and the Seik chiefs, although they would no longer embrace the impostor's cause, were nevertheless unwilling to fight against him; he, therefore, soon got possession of the Rannee's country, and had formed the siege of Lodhana,\* about the same time that Mr. Thomas, as we have before related, made himself master of the fort of Bhaut.

It was in this situation of her affairs, when reduced almost to extremity, that the Rannee determined to apply to Mr. Thomas for his assistance in expelling the impostor from her territories. With this intention she dispatched a confidential servant to his camp, who, on her part, promised him a remuneration of a lack of rupees, if he would espouse her cause, and re-

\* Consult the map.

instate her son, the young rajah, in his authority.

She promised moreover to send him an annual tribute of 50,000 rupees, if he would guarantee her son in the undisturbed possession of it.

Mr. Thomas, though well aware that by accepting the present offer he should draw on himself a procrastinated war, nevertheless observes with that humane consideration which always marked his character, that the fallen condition of an ancient and honourable family had great weight with him in forming his resolution on this head.

In the mean time the impostor, hearing of the negotiations betwixt the Rannee and Mr. Thomas, sent the latter a letter, in which he stated, that having called to his assistance Runjeet Sing and others, the most powerful among the Seik chiefs, he was now on his march against Mr. Thomas, and advised him, if he wished for quarter, to send a vakeel directly to

his camp. In this letter, arrogating to himself the title of successor of Nanick, and sovereign of the Seik nation, he recommended implicit obedience to his commands. Equally indignant at the style of the impostor's address, as he was regardless of his menaces, Mr. Thomas replied, that had he feared the power of the Seiks he would not have penetrated thus far into the Punjab; that he was accustomed to receive and not to send vakeels; and that if the impostor wished to live on amicable terms, he must not only pay a sum of money, as others had been compelled to do, but likewise immediately evacuate the territories which he had so unjustly usurped from the infant rajah.

The boldness of this answer only contributed to incense the impostor, and he prepared to attack Mr. Thomas.

Meanwhile the young rajah, despairing of profiting by a longer stay with the chief of Pattialah, of his own accord took leave, and came straight to Mr. Thomas's camp. "The comely appearance (says he) of this youth, his fallen condition, and, above all, the con-

“ fidence he shewed in placing his whole reliance on one against whom he was so lately leagued in enmity, altogether influenced me in his favour, and determined me to use every exertion in support of his cause.”

The impostor, who by this time had reinforced his army with the troops of Pattialah and others, was encamped in the neighbourhood; but, on Mr. Thomas's advancing, he thought proper to retreat; and his people having no artillery, evacuated the different posts much faster than Mr. Thomas could advance to take possession. So rapid was his march, that in one place he found the bed, palankeen, tent, and baggage, belonging to the impostor, who by a timely retreat saved himself from being made prisoner, and never afterwards occasioned any disturbance.

The Rannee and her son were put in possession of their country, the most active of the rebels were seized, and it was not long before the rajah's authority was completely re-established.

During these transactions, the chief of Paltiah, having been joined by others, advanced to attack Mr. Thomas, with a determination to expel him the country. Several skirmishes ensued between the armies, but without much effect on either side, neither party being desirous of risking a general engagement. The war was therefore carried on in a desultory manner. The Seiks wished, by annoying his foraging parties, to cut off the supplies from his camp. This mode also prevented him from making collections; and though nothing serious occurred, yet the scene of action being on the borders of the young rajah's country, occasioned great loss to the cultivation of the lands. Mr. Thomas, therefore, would willingly have carried the war immediately into the enemy's territories. To this, however, neither the rajah or his mother would consent; but, with the most pressing intreaties, requested him to remain, while the Seiks continued in that neighbourhood.

So long as prudence allowed, Mr. Thomas willingly listened to the solicitations of his allies; but his ammunition beginning to fall

short, he was reluctantly compelled to march toward his own country to procure a supply.

The Seiks, as he had foreseen, harassed him on the march; but their attempts proving ineffectual to do him any essential injury, only incited him to retaliate, by destroying their villages as he passed along. Directing his march towards Hanfi, he perceived, not without satisfaction, that the whole of the Seik army were following him, by which means the country of his youthful ally would, at least for the present, be free from their depredations.

It must now be remarked, that previous to Mr. Thomas's setting out for the Punjab frontier, the chiefs of Keithul and Jeind, two of his most powerful neighbours, had concluded a treaty, by which they agreed to a cessation of hostilities during his absence, to abstain from the invasion of his territories, and allow him to prosecute the war against his enemies. Those chiefs, perceiving the strong combination which had been formed against Mr. Thomas, now joined themselves to his other enemies. He therefore prepared to punish them.



Having, by forced marches, got ahead of the Seik army, Mr. Thomas first led his troops against the fort of Kanhori, which he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword.

The acquisition of this fortress, which was only thirty coss distant from Pattialah, was of great consequence to him. Situated on the borders of his own territory, and near the Cugur river, it appeared so well calculated for a deposit of stores and ammunition, that he repaired the fortifications, and placed in it a strong garrison. Then collecting hostages from the neighbouring districts, as security for their future pacific intentions, he marched to Retara, another strong place on the frontier, belonging to Lall Sing. The garrison consisted of five hundred men; but before a breach could be effected, dreading the fate of the inhabitants of Kanhori, they asked for quarter, and were allowed by Mr. Thomas to march out with the honours of war.

From this place he prosecuted his route towards Hanfi. The hot season being now far

advanced, the Seiks, through want of water and forage for their cattle, were compelled to relinquish the pursuit; and, drawing off their force, encamped in the neighbourhood of Keithul, there to wait until the approaching rains permitted a renewal of hostilities.

Mr. Thomas next marched into the district of Jeind, from whence he exacted tribute, and took hostages; but, from a dearth of water in this neighbourhood to supply his troops, he did not think proper at that time to attack it.

During his absence in the Punjab, Bappoo Scindiah, agreeably to instructions received from Mr. Perron, invaded Mr. Thomas's possessions; but hearing of his return, thought proper to fall back upon the main army, at this time encamped near Delhi.

Mr. Thomas next marched, and laid siege to Sefedoo, a town dependant upon the chief of Jeind. This place was built of brick, and the walls of uncommon height. Having erected three redoubts, in which he placed eighteen

cannon, twelve and six pounders, he began to batter the fort, and kept up an incessant fire until three o'clock in the afternoon. At this time, fearing that the place might be reinforced during the ensuing night, Mr. Thomas determined on an immediate assault. The garrison consisted of seven hundred men, three hundred of which remained within the fort; and the rest fallying out, descended into the ditch, which crossing with rapidity, they commenced an attack upon Mr. Thomas's advanced posts; but most of the party, among whom were some chiefs of distinction, were put to the sword. Mr. Thomas's soldiers in their turn attempted to mount the breach; but the scaling ladders being found too short, and the storming party at the same instant assailed by the remainder of the troops within the garrison, these gallant men were involved in the greatest difficulty, and entirely exposed to the enemy's shot, which fell so thick among them, and did so much execution, that, after a desperate and hard fought conflict of two hours, Mr. Thomas was compelled to retire, with the loss of four hundred and fifty of his best men.

The gallant Mr. Hopkins, who had been conspicuous for his ardour throughout the attack, on this occasion received another severe wound.

The enemy, who had likewise suffered greatly, now attempted to escape from the fort, and to cut their way through Mr. Thomas's troops. This, notwithstanding every exertion on his part, they effected; and having taken shelter in a thick forest in the neighbourhood, Mr. Thomas thought it useless to pursue them any longer, but returned to take possession of the fort.

During this transaction, the Seik army lay within eighteen coss, and that of Bappoo Scindiah only nine, though both, happily for Mr. Thomas, remained quiet.

He next marched to Kythul. Here the rajah of Pattialah and others of the Seik chiefs, sent vakeels into his camp to negotiate a peace. Mr. Thomas, on his part, was sincerely inclined to put an end to the war, as he was well in-

formed that the army of Mr. Perron was now on its march from Delhi, for the avowed purpose of affording aid to the Seiks. They likewise had recently been informed that disturbances prevailed in their own country, and therefore hastened to conclude the present negotiations. It was agreed, therefore, that the Seiks should pay the sum of 1,35,000 rupees, and renounce all pretensions to the country of Roy Kellaun; that the rajah of Pattialah should be reconciled to his sister, with whom he had been so long at variance; that this lady should be reimbursed for the property that had been confiscated; that certain districts should be ceded to Mr. Thomas; and finally, that the rajah of Pattialah should keep two battalions of infantry in constant pay, who were to be stationed for the defence of the Punjab frontier, as a mutual safeguard to either party.

“ Thus (says Mr. Thomas, in his usual man-  
“ ly and energetic strain,) ended a campaign  
“ of seven months, in which I had been more  
“ successful than I could possibly have expected

“ when I first took the field with a force  
“ consisting of five thousand men, and thirty-  
“ six pieces of cannon. I lost in killed, wound-  
“ ed, and disabled, nearly one third of my  
“ force ; but the enemy lost five thousand per-  
“ sons of all descriptions. I realised near two  
“ hundred thousand rupees, exclusive of the  
“ pay of my army, and was to receive an ad-  
“ ditional one hundred thousand for the hos-  
“ tages which were delivered up. I explored  
“ the country, formed alliances, and, in short,  
“ was dictator in all the countries belonging to  
“ the Seiks, south of the river Sutledge.\*

\* Before we take leave of this interesting country, it may not be improper to advert to two of the desiderata of Major Rennel, which, from a perusal of his excellent Memoir accompanying the map of Hindoostan, appear to be as follow :

First, to ascertain the existence of a canal, which was to have been cut by the order of the emperor Firose, from the river Sutledge to the Jumna, the execution of which design would have opened a communication by water from Cabul to Assam.

Second, the altars of Alexander, which, according to Arrian, must have been situated between the Beyah and the Sutledge, near the modern city of Ferozepore.

It is much to be regretted that the spirit of modern travel has not yet reached these distant, though, to the British nation, not wholly inaccessible regions, as no doubt many very curious particulars in ancient history, which have hitherto remained in obscurity, might, by diligent and accurate investigation, be brought to light.



## CHAPTER XIV.

*Reflections—Combination formed against Mr. Thomas—commencement of hostilities—battle with Captain Smith—death of Mr. Hopkins—Mr. Thomas's opponents become more and more formidable—treacherous designs of his officers—multiplied difficulties—Mr. Thomas is compelled to fly—reaches Hansi—he capitulates—arrives at the British frontier—his death and character.*

LIKE a sea-worn mariner, who, after countering the dangers and hardships of a long and tedious voyage, is at length gratified with the sight of land; or as a benighted traveller on his road after a weary journey, losing himself in desert wilds, or betrayed by false tracts in the treacherous snow, looks forward to the enjoyments of his peaceful home; so are we happy to perceive a prospect of terminating our labours, in view of a desired haven.

To this haven, after a little more tossing on the tempestuous ocean of life, and a few more vicissitudes of fortune, we are anxious to conduct our friend and hero; and, after sharing with him the perils and dangers of the voyage, finally to place him in that Afylum, where every trouble is forgotten, and where every sorrow ceases to exist.

However flattering might appear the termination of the campaign, Mr. Thomas's good fortune may, at this period, be said to have attained its meridian splendour; since a dark cloud, which had long been gathering over his head, was now preparing to discharge its malignant contents: its baneful influence threatened even the utter extirpation of those hopes of fortune and independance by which he had so long been buoyed up, and which had therefore taken deep root in his aspiring mind.

But as the combination which was about to be formed against him was in the end productive of his downfall, and the death blow to his hopes, it will be necessary in this place to take a retrospective survey of the strength and

resources of that part of the Mahratta empire, with which he was entering on an interesting and eventful warfare.

This will equally enable us to comprehend the situation of his numerous and powerful enemies, as to appreciate the exertion of those faculties and talents which were now called forth, and which place his last struggles for the support of his authority in a point of view highly creditable to his general character. On the death of Madhajee Scindiah in 1794, he was succeeded in his possessions and authority by his nephew Dowlut Row Scindiah. This youth, though of promising parts, was by no means equal in capacity to his renowned uncle.

That politic prince, aware of the advantages to be derived from the practice of the European system of tactics, and the introduction of military discipline into his armies, had, by the assistance of General Duboign, raised several brigades of infantry, which he left entire to his nephew. Shortly after his elevation, Dowlut Row constituted Mr. Perron his commander.

in-chief, whose influence has continued to sway the mind of his master from that period until the present time.

The force thus raised amounted to forty thousand infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, with five hundred pieces of heavy artillery.

This accession of force, though dispersed over an extensive tract of country, the fruits of the late Scindiah's conquests, could, when circumstances required, be brought to act in concert.

On the other side, Holkar, the ruler of Indore, (a province situated in the centre of the De-kan) could at this time command an army of fifty thousand men, with three hundred pieces of cannon; and lastly, the Seiks, who, as we have already seen, were able to bring into the field nearly an equal number.

Holkar, however, not being at variance with Mr. Thomas, must not therefore be numbered among his enemies, though the prodigious accession of force against him, in an union of the

Seiks and Scindiah, was of itself sufficient to astound and overwhelm him.

To counteract the designs of his enemies, Mr. Thomas, at the period we are speaking of, had an army whose utmost force consisted of eight battalions of infantry, amounting in all to six thousand men, fifty pieces of cannon, well appointed and well served, one thousand cavalry, and fifteen hundred Rohillaes, with about two thousand men, who garrisoned his different forts; but with this force, comparatively so small, he had a spirit and elevation of mind not to be subdued by accident, or depressed by ill fortune; and not only waited the event with firmness, but declared previous to the commencement of hostilities, that if his resources in money did not fail, he doubted not with his present army to hold out against the efforts of all the native princes of India.

To preserve, however, the thread of our narration, it will now be necessary to remark, that repeated letters had lately been sent by Scindiah to Mr. Thomas, to induce him to act in

conjunction with Mr. Perron against their common enemies.

In answer, he represented that Mr. Perron and himself being subjects of different nations, then in a state of actual hostility against each other, it was impossible they could ever act in concert, or with cordiality. He was moreover convinced, that as a Frenchman, and possessed of a national enmity against him, Mr. Perron would always be induced to represent his actions in a light most unfavourable to his interests: that principles of honour, on the present occasion, forbid his acting under the command of a Frenchman: but if Scindiah was really desirous of employing him to the advantage of the state, or to his own benefit, he might bestow on him a separate command, under the control of a Mahratta general; or, concludes Mr. Thomas with much spirit, “should you  
“ think proper to appoint me to the management of operations, either offensive or  
“ defensive, in any part of the Dekan, Hindoostan, or Punjaub, I am ready and willing  
“ to undertake the charge, so soon as the ne-



“ necessary arrangements for the payment of  
“ my troops can be completed.”

In reply to this representation, Scindiah, who had been tutored for the occasion by Mr. Perron, urged in the strongest manner the impossibility of consenting to Mr. Thomas's request, as it would serve as an unfavourable precedent; he recommended moreover, that in the present instance the national enmity of these commanders should be laid aside; and their mutual exertions made for the general benefit of the service, but at all events desired Mr. Thomas to suspend his resolution until his own arrival in Hindoostan.

Some time after the above correspondence, Mr. Perron wrote to Mr. Thomas, requesting him to send a vakeel to confer upon the subject, for the mutual benefit of either party.

This request was instantly complied with; and Mr. Thomas's vakeel, having received the necessary instructions, was dispatched to Delhi. Arriving at Mr. Perron's camp, which was



pitched in the neighbourhood of that city, he was received in a manner the most cordial and flattering.

The affairs of Scindiah were at this time in a situation that by no means justified a protracted war in his possessions in Hindoostan, being himself engaged in an eventful and difficult contest with his ancient enemy Jesswunt Row Holkar.

The cautious chief therefore thought that to temporise with Mr. Thomas would be the most eligible method; as he might, in the course of his present warfare, have occasion for the services of Mr. Perron's troops.

In his master's name, therefore, Mr. Perron requested an interview. The fort of Behadur Ghur was the place named for the meeting. On his approach to that place, Mr. Thomas was informed that Perron had put to death a Seik chief, who had lately revolted from Scindiah, and of whose person he had got possession by treacherous means.

This intelligence induced Mr. Thomas to observe the greatest circumspection in the approaching interview. Captain Smith, the son of an officer in the honourable East India Company's service, was dispatched by Mr. Perron to meet and conduct him to the Mahratta camp. Mr. Thomas took along with him on this occasion 300 cavalry, and two of his most approved battalions; being determined to afford no opportunity to his enemies to effect his ruin by treacherous means.

In the month of September, after some previous negotiation between the parties, Mr. Perron and Mr. Thomas met for the first time at the town of Behadur Ghur. Mr. Thomas having received recent information that the affairs of Scindiah presented an unfavourable aspect, and that that chief was unequal to the contest with Jesswunt Row Holkar, hoped the present interview would be productive of an amicable adjustment of all former differences, and establish the future tranquillity and good understanding of both parties.

In this, however, he was deceived; for at the

second day's meeting he was much surprised by a demand, equally sudden as unsuspected, from Mr. Perron, requesting him to give up the district of Jyjur entirely to the Mahrattas; in lieu of this he was to receive for the support of his battalions the monthly sum of 50,000 rupees, and henceforth to be considered as the immediate servant of Dowlut Row Scindiah.

Although this proposal might have been foreseen, Mr. Thomas gave it a positive denial; and perceiving the nature of the design formed against him, was aware that he should be required to act against Holkar in the present war; and if it proved unfavourable to the interests of that chief, and his authority was subverted, Scindiah would not only discontinue the payment of the monthly sum now offered to Mr. Thomas, but compel him to accept of any terms the Mahratta Government might think proper to impose.

For these reasons Mr. Thomas, without further discussion on the subject, abruptly broke up the conference, and marched away in disgust.

Pacific measures being now at an end, Mr. Perron, to begin the war with advantage, repaired directly to Jyjur, of which, being unfortified, he immediately took possession. Mr. Thomas had still left the fort of George Ghur, in which having stationed 800 men, he expected it would hold out a considerable time, nor was he deceived. La Fontaine, a commander in Mr. Perron's service, having approached that place in the hope of taking it by assault, was so warmly received by the garrison as to be compelled to retreat with considerable loss.

The period, however, of Mr. Thomas's final discomfiture was not far off. His enemies pressed on him on all sides with accumulated vigour; and private treachery coming in aid of public misfortune, he was soon reduced to a situation the most painfully distressing.

The force of Mr. Perron at this time consisted of ten battalions of infantry, six thousand horse, a body of Rohillas, and sixty pieces of heavy artillery. The Seiks were likewise preparing to send against him a considerable force; and in addition to these threatened

evils, several of his own districts perceiving the disastrous situation of his affairs, joined their efforts to those of his enemies.

A part of Mr. Perron's forces was commanded by Captain Smith, whom we have before had occasion to notice, while a second division was led by Mr. Lewis.

On his arrival at Hanfi, Mr. Thomas lost no time in completing his ammunition and other stores; his intention was first to attack Mr. Lewis, but Captain Smith having lately invested the fort of George Ghur, by which means the collections in that district were interrupted, he resolved to proceed to its relief.

George Ghur\* is a small fort erected by Mr. Thomas, when he first took possession of the pergunnahs made over to him by Appakandarow; it is situated four coss south of Jyjur, and thirty distant from Delhi. The unquiet state of the pergunnahs had induced Mr.

\* For this account of the position of George Ghur, I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Captain Salkeld of the cavalry.

Thomas to erect this fort with a view to overawe the neighbouring villages, and when finished he placed a strong body of troops in it for its defence.

Mr. Thomas having left a body of Rohillas to defend Hanfi, advanced towards Captain Smith, and after a march of eleven co's, encamped at the town of Mahim; Mr. Lewis at this time being seventeen co's to the north-west of that place.

Here he was informed that Captain Smith, who had got imperfect intelligence of his advance, had withdrawn his guns from the batteries and struck his camp.

Mr. Thomas having ordered the cavalry to proceed with all expedition, continued his march with the infantry towards George Ghur, where, on his arrival late in the evening, he learnt that Captain Smith had retreated.

Early on the ensuing morning Mr. Thomas commenced the pursuit, but Murtuza Khawn, the commandant of his second regiment, who



had received orders to proceed in advance, and cut off the retreat of Captain Smith, most unaccountably lost his road, and the soldiers being fatigued, did not come up with their colours; with the only battalion that remained Mr. Thomas, on reaching the rear of Captain Smith's line of march, commenced the attack. Captain, Smith in order to cover the retreat of his artillery and baggage, drew up to receive Mr. Thomas, and after a slight cannonade continued his route; at this time Mr. Thomas's second regiment made its appearance, of which, from the causes before stated, not more than seventy men had yet come up, and they advancing incautiously into a field of joar\* on the right, without having previously reconnoitred, were suddenly attacked by a battalion of the enemy; his men being so few in number made but a feeble resistance, and before they had time to unlimber, the enemy took possession of four of their guns.

Mr. Thomas hearing of this disaster, immediately advanced to the relief of his troops; he

\* A grain very common in India.



was attended on this occasion by Asalat Khawn, a native officer, formerly in the service of the East India Company; they charged the enemy with vigour sword in hand, and after a severe conflict, in which the commandant of the enemy was taken prisoner, gave them a complete defeat.

Mr. Thomas's men, thinned in their numbers, and exhausted with fatigue, were unable to continue the pursuit; he sent his cavalry however after the fugitives, who picked up several stands of colours and small arms, which had been thrown away in the retreat.

In this encounter the enemy lost seven hundred men, while that of Mr. Thomas did not exceed one hundred; and had it not been for the foldier-like precautions taken by Captain Smith in sending forward his artillery and baggage, while he made head against Mr. Thomas with his infantry, the whole would inevitably have been captured; as it was, he lost the greater part of his ammunition and baggage.

Captain Smith on his defeat returned to Jyjur, and Mr. Thomas pitched his camp about two miles distant from that place.

In the morning he was preparing for a second attack, when his hircarrahs, who had been on the look-out, brought intelligence of the approach of Mr. Lewis from an opposite direction, and his own troops being not only fatigued, but many of them dispersed in search of plunder, he did not think it advisable at that time to hazard an engagement.

Mr. Thomas now returned to George Ghur, but had scarcely reached that place when he received intelligence of Mr. Perron's army having arrived at Byree, three cofs from his own encampment.

On the ensuing morning the enemy prepared to attack him. His situation was at this time critical; the battalions who had before retreated from George Ghur now came back, and took post within cannon shot to the eastward of his encampment; the force under Mr. Lewis was stationed to the south-west;

while the enemy's numerous cavalry attacked him in front.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the action commenced by a heavy cannonade on both sides; the motions of the enemy had induced Mr. Thomas to divide his army according to the ground he occupied, the advantage of which, allowing for the quality of the troops, was much in his favor; but his battalions not being accustomed to be exposed to a cannonade, he drew up his army on a loose sand, which thereby deadened the shot and prevented their rising after the first graze.

His force consisted of ten battalions of infantry, fifty pieces of cannon, six hundred Rhillas, and about five hundred cavalry, not exceeding in the aggregate five thousand men; of which number only four thousand could be brought into action.

Of this force five battalions were opposed to Mr. Lewis, two were assigned for the battalions opposite the centre of his line, and three to sustain the shock of the enemy's horse. On

the commencement of the action Mr. Lewis's division came on briskly, having their guns at the drag ropes; Mr. Thomas, by a rapid discharge of round and grape shot from his artillery, at first threw them into confusion, and had he been able at this moment to prevent his troops from giving way, would have entirely defeated the enemy; but the centre of his line at this time being hard pressed by the enemy's cavalry, gave way, and no effort could prevent the remainder from following their example.

This rendered an immediate and spirited advance necessary to support. For this purpose Mr. Thomas ordered Mr. Hopkins, with the right wing, and Mr. Birch with the left, to advance and charge with bayonets in their respective wings; which service they performed with no less gallantry than success.

The enemy halted, and began to retreat; but a heavy fire being still continued from their numerous and well-served artillery, Mr. Thomas's people fell in great numbers, which the enemy's cavalry perceiving charged a second time.

They were not only repulsed with loss, but pursued by Mr. Thomas's horse to a considerable distance from the field of battle. At this time intelligence was brought to Mr. Thomas, who was on the left wing, that Mr. Hopkins had received a severe contusion by a cannon shot, which broke his leg. This circumstance so disheartened his men, that they fell back in disorder, and increased the confusion in the centre of his line.

A strong detachment of the enemy, who were stationed in Mr. Thomas's rear, prevented his receiving any support from the troops opposed to them, and he could only spare one battalion to support the centre. This body, however, conducted themselves with so much gallantry, that could Mr. Thomas have afforded the additional aid of one hundred resolute men, they might have advanced, and would in all probability have decided the fate of the day.

Night approaching, and his people being fatigued with the severe service they had undergone, deserted their colours, and took shelter in the neighbouring ravines.



Mr. Thomas exerted every effort to rally them, but without effect. In this exigency he called in a body of Rohillas, who had been stationed in an adjoining village, for the protection of the baggage; and to stimulate their exertions to a renewal of the attack, proffered, but in vain, a large increase of pay.

Both armies now drew off, and during the night lay on their arms; and the next morning, after a short and but distant cannonade, the enemy left Mr. Thomas master of the field of battle.

In this action, the enemy lost two thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. Mr. Thomas's loss was seven hundred men, and twenty pieces of cannon rendered unfit for further service. The cause of this loss in artillery was occasioned partly by his cannon being dismounted by the enemy's shot, and partly by the breaking of their axle-trees, as the carriages of the guns, instead of recoiling as usual after the discharge, from the nature of the soil, being a deep and heavy sand, stopt short and broke.

A few days after this action, the gallant Mr. Hopkins died of his wounds. The death of this young man was a great loss to Mr. Thomas's interests; and the firmness of his behaviour during the whole of his service, as well as the manly resignation which he exhibited at the close of life, stamps his character as an amiable man, a brave and gallant foldier.\*

The enemy were daily reinforced by considerable numbers; among the first of whom were the troops under Bappoo Scindiah. Goordut Sing, Bunga Sing, Jonde Sing, and several other Seik chieftains, added their forces on the present occasion, Runjeet Sing, also ruler of Burtpoor, the Hattras Rajah, Ramdeen of

\* To do justice to the memory of my friend, I cannot, on this occasion, forbear to mention, that after the death of the gallant youth, Mr. Thomas, with a liberality of spirit which reflects the highest credit on his character, sent the young man's disconsolate sister (then become an orphan by her father's death) a present of two thousand rupees; with a promise if that sum was not thought sufficient to supply her wants, to extend his benevolence, though out of the remains of a ruined fortune of his own.



Katheler, and the troops of Rajah Ramdial, and Neen Sing, from the northern parts of the Dooab, completed this formidable aggregate.

Thirty thousand men, and a train of one hundred and ten pieces of artillery, had now surrounded Mr. Thomas on all sides: they so much overawed the neighbouring peasantry, that they not only immediately submitted, but discontinued their usual supplies of provisions for his camp, by which means his difficulties were so severely augmented, that all he could hope for, was an immediate attack on his camp, thereby to afford him an opportunity of evincing the bravery of his small force, by a vigorous and decisive encounter.

But being too weak to draw out his force in the open field, he was compelled to remain within his lines, and fortify the camp in the best possible manner, by drawing round it a hedge of the same kind of thorn-trees he had made use of when under similar embarrassment in the Jypoor dominions.

Having provided for the security of his camp,

and possessing a stock of provisions sufficient for a month's consumption, he determined to remain in his present position until assistance could arrive from Luckwah, who, on the commencement of hostilities, had given him assurances of coming to his support.

On the right of his encampment, a division of Mr. Perron's force had thrown up some entrenched works; but Mr. Thomas, by a brisk fire from his guns, quickly compelled them to abandon it, which, favoured by the darkness of the night, they accomplished.

Skirmishes between the armies daily took place, in which the troops of Mr. Thomas, though much inferior in point of numbers, had manifestly the advantage.

The enemy's cavalry constantly hovered round his camp to annoy his foraging parties, and prevent supplies of provisions from getting in. Though inferior to the enemy in point of numbers, Mr. Thomas's cavalry, from active and constant service, had a decided advantage; and so very alert were his people, that two of

the principal commanders of the enemy narrowly escaped being made prisoners in an attempt to surprise his camp.

Warned at length by experience that nothing was to be gained by these desultory attacks, and that Mr. Thomas strenuously persevered in his system of keeping close within his lines, they endeavoured to effect by corrupt and treacherous means, what they had vainly hoped to accomplish by open and manly warfare.

It must here be remarked, that the families of several of Mr. Thomas's officers resided within Mr. Perron's districts. He, in order to avail himself of their dependant situation, and accelerate Mr. Thomas's ruin, had, at the commencement of hostilities, placed a guard over their respective houses. Among the principal were the families of Shah Tab Khawn and Khirrate Khawn, the former a collector of Mr. Thomas's revenue, and the latter the commandant of his first matchlock regiment.

These men, who had been at first confined

by Mr. Perron, were afterwards liberated and sent for by him to the fort of Coel, his place of residence.

He there, by present bribes and still larger promises of reward in future, persuaded them to join in effecting the ruin of their principal. The ungrateful men, although they had on various occasions experienced the greatest proofs of kindness and benevolence from Mr. Thomas, and whom he had raised from low situations in his army to authority and command, scrupled not to desert him in the hour of his distress, and to join with his enemies in hastening his downfall.

Their opportunities to effect this were too favourable. Shah Tab Khan, who commanded in the fort of George Ghur, had caused some stacks of hay within the fort, which formed the chief support of his cattle, to be treacherously set on fire. The small supply of grain also, which now constituted the support of the garrison, was privately made away with by means equally nefarious.

Not content with the effect already produced on the minds of Mr. Thomas's people by circumstances so untoward, these perfidious men were constantly instilling into the minds of the troops the perilousness of their situation, and apparent impossibility of ever extricating themselves, except by submission to the enemy and uniting with them. Of these treacherous designs Mr. Thomas was not informed until it was too late to frustrate their effect by any exertions on his part. Luckwah, whom he impatiently expected, did not arrive; and other chiefs who had promised their assistance, not only withheld it, but actually joined his enemies. About this time, likewise, Colonel Hefling, the commandant of Agra, arrived, and added himself to the number of Mr. Thomas's foes.

Several of his officers, whose habitations were in Mr. Perron's districts, deserted from his camp. His cattle were either killed or disabled, his grain had failed, and his ammunition fell short. With the utmost exertion he was scarcely able to procure grain by detaching parties secretly at night, who brought

him in a scanty supply in the morning, though not without frequent diminution of his small force in cavalry.

In this distress Mr. Thomas had no resource but either to attack the enemy by night, to fall forth and try the event of a contest in the day, or, attended by his cavalry, to attempt his retreat, leaving the infantry to make the best terms they could with the enemy.

After mature deliberation, he resolved to attack the enemy, and force his way to Hanfi, which if he could reach in safety, he hoped to be able to continue his resistance with effect, until assistance should arrive from Luckwah.

He accordingly gave the necessary directions for carrying this resolution into effect: but his people, suspecting his intention of returning to Hanfi, now began to pack up their baggage and openly to desert the camp.

On receiving intimation of this design, Mr. Thomas assembled the officers, and enquired of them the cause of this commotion. He was



informed that no reliance could be placed on the soldiers, who, disheartened at their situation and the distress they daily endured, would no longer remain with their colours.

To quiet their apprehensions, and restore confidence with regard to his supposed march to Hanfi, Mr. Thomas himself remained within the lines; and to encourage the drooping spirit of his people gave orders for an attack to be made on one of the enemy's advanced posts, which from its situation appeared easy to be taken.

At this moment a difficulty arose regarding the bullock-drivers, who had deserted the camp. Some sepoy however, encouraged by the promise of liberal reward, undertook the office, and a select detachment quitted the camp.

But whether from being infected with the general depression of spirits that prevailed throughout the troops, or that they were really unfit for the occupation, the sepoys conducted themselves in so awkward a manner, and made so little exertion in getting on the guns, that



Mr. Thomas thought it more prudent to recall the detachment altogether, and it accordingly returned to camp.

Shortly after his hircarrahs brought information that the enemy, having been apprised of his intention to force his way to Hansi, had got their line under arms ready to oppose his progress; and which, if he had attempted it in the present discontented state of his troops, would in all probability have terminated in his disgrace.

Destitute of forage, in want of ammunition, there being no possibility of any supply arriving from without, his soldiers daily deserting, and the few who remained even refusing to fight, except in the actual defence of the camp, in this situation Mr. Thomas assembled a council of his officers, who, on his submitting to them the circumstances, gave it as their unanimous opinion, that there was nothing to be done but by an unconditional surrender to the enemy.

Mr. Thomas endeavoured to persuade them that a retreat to Hansi was still practicable;

Hansi

but his exertions were ineffectual, and a dismal aspect presented itself on all sides.

For the last three days no grain had been served out in the garrison; but as many of the soldiers had been provident in times of plenty to save from their respective allowances, there existed no real want of that article in the camp, and salt and sugar were still to be had in great abundance. A small quantity of wheat still remained, which Mr. Thomas humanely appropriated to the use of the sick and wounded. The scarcity of provisions operated more severely upon the Hindoo than the Moosfulman soldiers, as the latter could subsist upon the cattle that were daily destroyed by the enemy's shot.

A body of Rohillas, who were stationed in the posts that commanded the water used for the supply of the camp, suddenly went over to the enemy. Mr. Thomas instantly appointed others to guard the posts thus abandoned; but to his sorrow soon found that the spirit of desertion had seized on the Moosfulman troops in general, the cavalry alone excepted. At

seven o'clock in the evening information was brought that the whole of the troops stationed at the out-posts of the camp had deserted; that the enemy were making preparations for a general assault; and at the instant of receiving this intelligence, Mr. Thomas had the additional mortification to perceive the last stack of his hay in flames by the incendiaries. This, as it afterwards appeared, was a preconcerted signal between the enemy and the traitors in his own camp.

Distressed at this intelligence, Mr. Thomas demanded of the person who informed him wherefore he had so long delayed the communication; but received in reply only a vague and unsatisfactory excuse. The scene of treachery now began to disclose itself.

Shortly after Mr. Thomas's hircarrahs brought word that Shah Tab Khan, who commanded George Ghur, had already mounted his horse, attended by his people and all their effects, and was preparing to leave the fort, being at that instant in conference with a party of the enemy, who had approached the walls with a

determination to escort the traitor to their own camp.

His escape was easily effected, Mr. Thomas being in no condition to punish him; and on his departure, a party from camp was ordered to take possession of the fort; but by the desertion of Shah Tab Khan the face of affairs was altered considerably for the worse. The matchlock men were now deserting the camp in crowds and in all directions; a few of the officers of the whole regiment being the only persons who remained.

Mr. Thomas's sole reliance was now on the attachment of the regiment which had been commanded by the gallant but unfortunate Mr. Hopkins, at the commencement of the campaign. It was seven hundred strong; but during the late severe service had been reduced to one third of the original number. "These" (says Mr. Thomas, in the bitterness of his "anguish, occasioned by so many desertions) "were the only men that stood true to my "interests."

But even with this force, though comparatively so insignificant, had there been provisions and forage in the place, he might still have defended the fort of George Ghur; but excepting the small portion allotted for the sustenance of the sick and wounded men, not a peck of rice or grain could be procured; to complete their distress, the enemy, perceiving their forlorn situation, prepared to advance and overwhelm them with numbers; nothing now remained for Mr. Thomas but to attempt a retreat, and, if possible, carry into effect his former determination of throwing himself into Hanfi.

Agreeably to this determination, having ordered the cavalry to hold themselves in readiness, he about nine o'clock in the evening quit-  
ted his camp.

Not long after, he fell in with a party of the enemy, who attacked him with vigour: his men, disheartened by the late events, having lost their accustomed spirit, gave way on all sides, and he was compelled with a few followers to fly for his life.



The enemy continuing the pursuit, he was compelled to make a circuitous route in order to avoid falling in with straggling parties, by which means, though Hansi was not more than forty coss from George Ghur, he was compelled to travel nearly double that distance.\*

Arrived at length in safety at Hansi, Mr. Thomas's first care was directed to its defence.†

\* In this retreat Mr. Thomas rode a favourite Persian horse of a very superior breed and the highest spirit. On this generous animal, without allowing any intermission on the road, he performed a journey of one hundred and twenty miles within twenty-four hours. This horse, which Mr. Thomas brought with him down the country, is now in the possession of Sir Frederick Hamilton, Bart. of Benares.

† Hansi, according to the Ayeen Akberi, is included in the Soobah of Delhi. Speaking of the rivers contained within this Soobah, the author of the Ayeen Akberi observes, "There are also many lesser streams, and amongst them the Kenkkar, vulg. (Cuggur). Hansi is an ancient city, where reposes Sheik Jumal, successor of Sheik Ferid Shuker Gunj (of whom we have spoken in our detail of the Battee country). The city of Hissar was founded by Sultaun Ferose, who dug a canal which

Warned by past experience of the treacherous disposition of the Mooffulmans, he committed the charge of the fort and city to his faithful Rajepoots, whom on all occasions, and in the most trying situations, he had ever found worthy his confidence.

He was not mistaken in his conjectures, as daily instances occurred during the siege of the inconstancy and treachery of the others.

Two pieces of artillery were all that remained in the fort fit for service. The dilatory march of the enemy to invest the town afforded Mr. Thomas sufficient time to cast and mount eight additional cannon. The enemy advancing by easy stages possessed themselves of the wells in the neighbourhood of Hansi, and at length commenced the siege.

"brings the water of the Jumna near this city. This canal passes the town of Sersah. Hissar has very few rivers, and in order to make wells, the inhabitants are obliged to dig to a great depth."—See Mr. Gladwin's Translation of the Ayeen Akberi, Calcutta edition—article Delhi, vol. ii.



The Rajepoots who still adhered to Mr. Thomas, by this time reduced in their numbers to three hundred men, were stationed within the fort; the remainder of his force, consisting of about nine hundred men, were distributed for the defence of the city and the out-posts. Aware of his very critical situation, Mr. Thomas himself remained within the fort, taking care to keep a strict guard during the night.

The troops destined for the security of the out-posts had scarcely occupied their respective stations, when, in a manner most dastardly and treacherous, they delivered them over to the enemy; and the fort and city were thus left to be defended by a handful of men.

This even was rendered impracticable by the treachery of some Rohillas, who invited the enemy to advance to the attack. The assault was accordingly made: on the entrance of the enemy into the town, a desperate conflict was maintained on either side, Mr. Thomas's remaining troops fighting with the most determined valour: three different times the enemy were repulsed with loss, but numbers at

length prevailing, Mr. Thomas could no longer persuade his men to continue the conflict; he was therefore reluctantly compelled to take shelter within the fort, and abandon the town, of which the enemy took immediate possession.

*Siege?*  
Of his whole force, seven hundred men now only remained. The enemy having erected their batteries, commenced the siege of the fort, which, notwithstanding its siege and the small garrison which it contained, had there been a sufficiency of provisions, could still have made a successful resistance; but provisions were scarce, the Mahomedan troops were clamorous for their pay, and receiving no satisfactory answer on this head, they made offers to Mr. Perron of joining his army on condition of payment of their arrears, and an advance of money as a reward for their treachery.

*Perron*  
Mr. Perron would readily have agreed to this proposal, had he not conceived Mr. Thomas could still defend the place with his remaining Rajepoots, in which case he might lose many of his own men; he accordingly

*Perron was not here*  
*Bourguen was in*

made Mr. Thomas acquainted with the treachery that was carrying on within the garrison, and advised him to be upon his guard.

“ Considering, therefore, (concludes Mr. Thomas) that I had entirely lost my party, and with it the hopes of at present subduing my enemies, the Seiks and the powers in the French interests; that I had no expectation of succour from any quarter, Luckwah having gone to Joudpore; that if hostilities continued, my resource in money would have failed; in this situation, I agreed to evacuate the fort; and the necessary arrangements being completed, I stipulated for a battalion of sepoys to escort me to the English frontier, where I arrived in the middle of January, 1802.

## DEATH AND CHARACTER

OF

## GEORGE THOMAS.

NOT long after his arrival on the British frontier, Mr. Thomas inspected his affairs; and on collecting the wreck of his fortune, acquired with so much toil and labour, he found himself possessed of a sum not more than sufficient to procure the comforts of life in his native country; with this he determined to retire from public life to the enjoyment of domestic ease and quiet; and with this intention was proceeding to Calcutta, when death arrested his progress, near the military cantonments of Berhampoor, on the 22d of August, 1802. He was interred in the burying-ground of that place, and a monument is now erecting to his memory.

George Thomas was a native of Tipperary, in Ireland, about forty-six years of age, tall in

his person (being upwards of six feet in height) and of a proportionate strength of body; his countenance was bold and erect; but from the constant and active use of his limbs, during his long and arduous warfare, he had contracted an elevation of the head which gave him the appearance of stiffness; though in consequence of this elevation his look was more martial, and indicative of the intrepidity of spirit which reigned within, and which wholly possessed his mind to the last hour of his life.

Mr. Thomas appeared formed by nature to execute the boldest designs; and though uncultivated\* by education, he possessed a native and

\* On his first arrival at Benares, after having obligingly promised his Excellency the Marquis Wellesley to afford every information within his power of the state of the western countries, Mr. Thomas proposed to the compiler of these memoirs to deliver his information in the Persian language; adding, that from constant use it was become more familiar to him than his native tongue. This offer, for obvious reasons, was declined; but it proves Mr. Thomas's capacity, under every disadvantage arising from a want of regular education; and I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion, that if Mr. Thomas had found leisure to cultivate his mind, his progress in the most useful



inherent vigour of mind, which qualified him for the performance of great actions, and placed him on a level with distinguished officers of the present day.

That he possessed superior military talents has, we trust, been evinced by the relation of the transactions in the preceding pages; and in reviewing his conduct, during a long and multifarious warfare, a more competent estimate may perhaps be formed of his abilities, if we reflect on the nature and extent of one of his plans, which he detailed to the compiler of these memoirs during his residence at Benares. When fixed in his residence at Haul, he first conceived, and would, if unforeseen and untoward circumstances had not occurred, have executed the bold design of extending his conquests to the mouths of the Indus. This was to have been effected by a fleet of boats, constructed from timber procured in the forests near the city of Ferozepoor, on the banks of the Sutledge river, of branches of literature would have been surprisingly rapid. He spoke, wrote, and read the Hindoostany and Persian languages with uncommon fluency and precision.

proceeding down that river with his army, and settling the countries he might subdue on his route : a daring enterprise, and conceived in the true spirit of an ancient Roman. On the conclusion of this design it was his intention to turn his arms against the Punjaub, which he expected to reduce in the course of a couple of years ; and which, considering the wealth he would then have acquired, and the amazing resources he would have possessed, these successes combined would doubtless have contributed to establish his authority on a firm and solid basis.

Apprehensive, however, of the ultimate success of his arms, when he considered the number and strength of his enemies, Mr. Thomas, about the time he was occupied in the contemplation of the aforementioned plan, made an offer\* of his service to the British government ; which, though circumstances of political consideration might not have inclined govern-

\* Correspondence with Captain H. V. White, to whom the compiler begs leave to offer his kindest acknowledgments for several interesting anecdotes in the latter part of Mr. Thomas's career.



ment to adopt, is nevertheless sufficient to present a correct idea of the enterprising spirit of the man. Having offered to advance and take possession of the Punjaub, and give up his army to the direction and control of the English; to take the country, and, in short, to become an active partisan in their cause: he thus, in a patriotic and truly loyal strain, concludes his remarks on the interesting subject: “\* By this “ plan,” says he, “ I have nothing in view but “ the welfare of my king and country. It could “ not be concerted soon enough to be of any “ use in the approaching conflict; (his dispute “ with the Mahrattas); therefore it is not to “ better myself that I have thought of it; I “ shall be sorry to see my conquests fall to the “ Mahrattas, I wish to give them to my king, “ and to serve him the remainder of my days; “ and this I can only do as a soldier in this part “ of the world.”

His knowledge of the spirit and character of the different tribes and nations that compose the interior of the vast peninsula of India,

\* Captain White's correspondence.

was various, extensive, and correct; and no man perhaps ever more thoroughly studied, or more properly appreciated, the Indian character at large. In his manners he was gentle and inoffensive, and possessed a natural politeness, and evinced a disposition to please superior to most men. He was, as we have already seen, equally a loyal subject to his king, as a real and sincere well wisher to the prosperity and permanence of the British empire in the east. He was open, generous, charitable, and humane; and his behaviour towards the families of those persons who fell in his service, evinces a benevolence of heart, and a philanthropy of spirit, highly honourable to his character.

But with these good qualities, the impartiality of history demands that we should state his errors, and endeavour to discover some shades in a character otherwise splendid. A quickness of temper, liable to frequent agitations, and the ebullitions of hasty wrath, not unfrequently rendered his appearance ferocious; yet this only occurred in instances where

the conviviality of his temper obscured his reason; and for this, on conviction, no man was ever readier to make every acknowledgment and reparation in his power.

Perfect correctness of conduct cannot be expected from a character like the one now under consideration, as a seclusion from civilized life, and long absence from the exercise of those duties which constitute the chief enjoyment of social happiness, must necessarily have tinctured the manners of the man with some portion of the spirit of the barbarians with whom he was so long an inmate.

Upon the whole, however, we may be justified in remarking, that on a review of the life and actions of this very extraordinary man, it is difficult which most to admire, whether the intrepidity of spirit by which he was incited to the performance of actions which, by their effect, raised him from the condition of a private subject to rank and distinction among princes; or the wonderful and uncommon attachment generally exhibited towards his per-

son and interests, by natives of every description, who fought and conquered with him in his long and arduous career, and whose assistance exalted him for a time to a height of respectability and consequence that feldom falls to the lot of an individual.

FINIS.

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2. Prospectus.
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## APPENDIX I.

*Of the Trade in general carried on in the  
Countries to the North-West of Delhi.*

### I. PUNJAUB.

**A**N open trade with this country from every part of Hindoostan has long since ceased; but petty merchants, by applying for passports from the respective chiefs of the Seik territories, previous to entering their boundaries, are generally supplied with them, and by this means still continue a trifling commercial intercourse.

Their exports to the countries west of the Attock, consist of sugar, rice, indigo, wheat, and white cloth. Their imports from those countries are swords, horses, fruit, lead, and spices. Their exports to Cashmere may be

considered nearly the same as into Persia ; their imports from Cashmere are shawls, and a variety of cloths, saffron, and fruit.

With the inhabitants of the mountains they exchange cloth, matchlocks, and horses, for iron, and other inferior commodities. From the Deckan are imported sulphur, indigo, salt, lead, iron, Europe coarse cloth, and spices : their exports are horses, camels, sugar, rice, white cloth, matchlocks, swords, and bows and arrows.

This trade is not carried on by any particular route, but depends on the character of the chiefs of those districts through which they pass. The most considerable part of the trade is, however, carried on from Amrut Seer, by way of Machaywara, to Duttyala ; southward by way of Hansi, Raage Ghur, and Oreecha, into the western part of the Rajepoot country by way of Kythul Jeind, and Dadery, and finally by Karnaul towards Delhi and the Ganges.

## II. BATTIES.

The exports of the Batties, consist of horses, camels, bullocks, buffaloes, and ghee; their imports are coarse white cloth, sugar, and salt; but the trade is very inconsiderable, and is carried on by petty merchants of Bahadra, Noher, and other towns, through the means of the disciples of Shiekh Fereed. The Hifar, or Harriana districts import matchlocks, swords, coarse white cloth, salt, sugar, a small quantity of rice, wheat, and spices, their exports are horses, camels, bullocks, and ghee.

## III. BEYKANEER.

Beykaneer imports coarse and fine rice, sugar, opium, and indigo. The former articles they import from the Punjaub and by Rauge Ghur and Churoo; salt they get from Samber, and wheat from the Jypoor country; spices, copper, and coarse cloth, from Jesselmere. They have no exports but cattle, and those are of an inferior breed.

## IV. JOUDPOOR.

The country of Joudpoor imports iron, copper, cloth of different sorts, red and yellow broad cloth, rice, opium, sugar, and spices. The copper and broad cloth are brought from Surat, from Tatta on the Indus, and from the Jypoor and Mewar countries.

Rice, sugar, and wheat from Mewar, Goorwara, and the southern parts of their own country.

Their exports are horses, bullocks, and camels, of superior size, which are in great request in various parts of India; salt likewise from the Sambre lake, and other places in its vicinity, is exported to the Punjaub to the east and to the south.

The trade to this country from Surat, passes chiefly through Gujerath and Ahumdadbad; from Tatta through the Sindy country and Jesselmere, and to the Deckan, by Mewar and Kota.

The town of Pawley is the greatest mart in this part of Rajepootana ; for there the merchants exchange the commodities of Europe, Persia, and Deckan, for those of Cashmere, Punjaub, and Hindoostan.

The trade in most parts of the Rajepoot country is carried on by camels or bullocks ; this is unavoidable, the sandiness of the soil rendering it almost impassable to carriages.

#### V. KOTA AND BOONDY.

The produce of Mewar, Kota, and Boondy, the eastern parts of the dominions of Jypoor, and the districts possessed by the rajah of Karrolee, may be mentioned under the following heads: horses, camels, and other cattle, but inferior to those produced in the more western countries ; matchlocks, swords, cloth of a coarse manufacture, wheat, rice, sugar, chuna, barley, and all other Indian grain ; and though about fourteen or fifteen coss north of the city of Oudipoor sulphur is produced, it is inferior to that which comes from Surat.

From the abundant production of those countries, a person would naturally think the inhabitants were in want of few importations; but they are extravagant in their mode of living, and fond of foreign luxuries.

Their imports and exports correspond with those of Jypoor; European and Persian articles come by the channels of Gujerath, Jelsmere, and Pawlee. From the Deckan, by way of Bapaul Soronge, Udjeen, and Endore, to Kota and Beelwara, in the Mewar district.

The Ghoffeins of Nathdolah, a place twelve cofs north from the city of Oudipoor, carry on a considerable trade with the provinces of Gujerath, and Tatta, and with Rajepootana, Punjaub, and Hindooftan.

This trade consists of pearls, precious stones, arms, shawls, cloth of every sort, and in short the production of all nations that trade to India. Kota being in a central position, and the rajah a man of good character, is a place

of great trade, and serves as a general deposit for merchandize.

## VI. JYPOOR.

The Jypoor country producing in itself almost every necessary article, does not stand in such real want of foreign commodities. The rajah is in part possessor of Samber, which produces plenty of salt, as likewise do the districts of Senganah and Berath. To these may be added copper, mines, alum, blue stone, and verdigrise. There are likewise in most parts of Jypoor good cattle, though not in quality equal to those of Joudpoor.

In all parts of the Jypoor dominions are manufactories of cloth, of swords, and of matchlocks.

Its imports are, fine cloths, the tiffue manufactures of Benares, and shawls from Cashmere. From Guzzerrath and Tatta are supplied opium, lead, and sheet copper; horses



and fruits from Persia were formerly introduced by the route of Beykaneer, but at present the Karwans pass through Jeselmere, and Joudpoor. The court of Jypoor being splendid and luxurious, so is the consumption of the productions of other countries considerable. This encourages trade, and leads to an intercourse with all parts of India.

## APPENDIX II.

THE following prospectus, drawn up about eleven years ago, when the compiler of these memoirs was employed on a survey ordered by government through the Dooab and the countries adjacent, will exhibit to the reader the outlines of a plan, the greater part of which is now, by God's blessing, happily accomplished.

It is here, therefore, that he wishes to pay the tribute so deservedly due to the memory of that illustrious luminary, the father of oriental literature, his honoured and revered friend, Sir William Jones, whose kind encouragement first inspired the compiler with an ardour for eastern literature, and whose bright example and uncommon acquirements in every branch of polite learning, must ever prove the best and strongest incentive to the exertions of British youth.

## PROSPECTUS.

Having been appointed in 1792 to accompany an escort ordered to attend captain Reynolds, of the Bombay establishment, on a survey through the Dooab and the adjoining countries, it appears to me, that in the course of this expedition, much information may be gained on subjects not hitherto sufficiently investigated and developed; what I conceive to be most useful in the researches above alluded to, may be reduced under the following heads:

1st. The natural productions of the Dooab, with its commercial advantages, and a comparative view of its former and present revenues, with as accurate a calculation of its inhabitants as can be procured.

2nd. The places of note, and the monuments of Mahomedan grandeur since the conquest of the Moguls.

3d. An account of Calpée and Etyah, and of the improvements that may be made in the inland commerce with the neighbouring countries.

4th. The cities of Agra and Delhi, and their environs, notwithstanding their present ruinous state, will nevertheless yield materials for many interesting remarks. The history of the revolutions at Delhi, and the unfortunate catastrophe of the present descendant of Timoor, would, I am persuaded, be interesting to my countrymen at home, and great and accurate information on this subject may be gained by personal conversation with several of the actors in this revolution, who are now living at Delhi.\*

5th. The celebrated city of Mathura, and the plains of Bindrabund, present a field for the investigation of the ancient government of the Hindoos; for, on this spot, consecrated for ages by the superstition of their ancestors, we may hope to find those primitive manners

\* See the History of Shah Aulum, and present work.

and customs described in their Sanscrit manuscripts; and their religious opinions being closely connected with their civil ordinations, we may be able to form a more correct idea of the spirit of their ancient government.

6th. On the south and south-west of the Jumna, the provinces of Boondeelcund, and Gohud, which have lately been reduced by the Mahratta government, with respect to their situation towards the Vizier's frontier, are objects of consequence to the British nation, and demand an attentive investigation.

7th. From the late successes attendant on Scindiah's arms, we must naturally conclude it has been owing in a great degree to the attention he has paid to the internal discipline and economy of his military system; it is therefore my intention to obtain as correct information as I can of the state of the Marhatta armies, together with an account of the Mahratta government.\*

\* The late maha-rajah Madajee Scindiah.

## THE SEIKS.

8th. This nation, so obscure as hardly to be mentioned even as a tribe, at the beginning of the present century, have, within these last thirty years, raised themselves in such reputation as not only to attract the notice, but excite the alarm of their neighbours on both sides of their government.

They possess the whole of the Punjaub, and it is very probable will one day or other have an eye to a participation of the Vizier's provinces. I propose, therefore, to obtain every possible information of their tribe, manners, customs, and spirit of government, and, should we be able, to penetrate into the Punjaub, to describe the face of that country, and the natural and commercial productions.\*

9th. The desiderata of Major Rennel, which from a perusal of his most excellent memoir I

\* See the History of Shah Aulum, and present work.



find to be, first, the ascertaining the existence of one of the grand designs of the Emperor Feroze; which was, to have cut a canal from the Sutledge to the Jumna, which would have opened a communication by water from Cabul to Affam. Major Rennel observes, he takes it for granted this canal was never completed, as no farther intimation has been obtained on that head. The remains \* of such a magnificent work, if any still exist, must doubtless be discovered by an inspection on the spot.

10th. I have in my possession a history of the celebrated Timoor or Tamerlane, said to be written by himself. This work contains the whole of Timoor's expeditions, from an early period of his life until near his death. The Indian expedition in particular is detailed in a very accurate manner.

11th. THE ALTARS OF ALEXANDER.

I have been the more induced to present to the public the above prospectus, as an evidence

\* See the 14th chapter of the present work.



that the leisure allowed to officers in the hours of relaxation from their professional duties, has not altogether been thrown away ; and also in the entertaining a confident hope that the honest pursuit of laudable studies will ever meet with public approbation and support.

## APPENDIX III.

*General Statement of the Forces of several of the  
Natives Princes and States in the western  
Parts of the Peninsula.*

THE present force of Dowlut Row Scindiah may be stated under the following heads.

1st. Cavalry, Marhatta, and Hindoostany, including the cavalry stationed with the different collectors that might be brought to act in a war	20,000
Ambajee's cavalry in the district of Gualior	4,000

Mr. Perron might muster in Hindoostan, that is, Delhi, Agrah, Jauts, Bapoo Scindia, and Madhoo Row's cavalry, exclusive of Seiks or Rajepoots	7,000
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Entire force of Scindiah's cavalry	31,000
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*Scindiah's Infantry.*

2d. The number of battalions at present under the command of Mr. Perron amount to forty ; each battalion generally consists of five hundred men, gunners and fighting men of every description included. Each battalion is provided with four field-pieces, a carronade, or howitzer, and some pieces of ordnance of large caliber, for the purpose of throwing grape.

A brigade consists of eight battalions; it has generally a separate park of ten pieces of artillery attached to it. This park is composed of battering guns and spare field-pieces.

The strength of each brigade will consist as follows.

Strength in officers and fighting men of every description		4,150
Pieces of artillery	—	50
Strength of five brigades		20,750
Pieces of artillery	—	250

The remains of Colonel Felose's brigade, six battalions, men	3,000
Ordnance	60
Five battalions of Col. John Heffing	2,600
Ordnance	30

Ambajee's battalions may be computed at four hundred men each, of which he has sixteen battalions 6,400

His artillery is not regularly attached to his battalions, and therefore often varies; but, generally speaking, may be computed at four pieces to each battalion 64

The battering train likewise varies, but may be computed at pieces 20  
Total artillery of Ambajee's pieces 84

*Begum Somroo.*

* Five battalions of about six hundred men each	3,000
Pieces of artillery	24
Cavalry	150

\* I find by this, that the statement of the Begum's force, as given in the History of Shah Aulum, is partly incorrect.

*Bapoo Scindiah*

Has two battalions	1,000
Artillery pieces	10
Total force of Scindiah in cavalry	31,150
Total force in infantry	38,050
Grand total infantry and cavalry	69,200
Grand total artillery ditto pieces	518

## REMARKS BY MR. THOMAS.

\* It is proper to observe, that Mr. Perron and Ambajee are now levying troops, which may cause a material error in this statement a few months hence. Ambajee and Perron are possessed of artillery exclusive of the above-mentioned; and Scindiah, by the artillery taken from Holkar, is able to add considerably to his own part.

Present state of Scindiah's infantry. They are the worst in India; are not commanded by

\* This statement was made 1802.

officers of experience, nor well armed, nor cordially attached to the service of their master; they are in arrears of pay, and would be defeated by a small force of regular disciplined troops, with a few pieces of well served artillery.

Mr. Perron's infantry are in appearance the best troops belonging to Scindiah: they are under better subordination to their officers, and are more regularly paid, armed, clothed, and disciplined.

The troops of the late Colonel Felse and those of Colonel Hefling, are equal to those of Mr. Perron.

Those of Begum Somroo are in a state of insubordination, and mutinous.

Those of Ambajee and Bapoo Scindia do not deserve the name of troops; they are undisciplined and ill-armed.

Their artillery is in general bad, and is frequently dismounted of itself in the usual

course of firing in a field of battle. Mr. Thomas relates one instance where twenty-five pieces of cannon were rendered unfit for service, eight of which only were struck by the enemy's shot.

*Force of Ali Behaudur.*

Ali Behaudur, the Marhatta chief, who is in possession of the open country, as likewise several of the strong holds in Boondeelcund, has four battalions, consisting of between five and six thousand infantry, six or seven thousand cavalry, with forty or fifty pieces of artillery, all of the very worst quality. The battalions, each about five hundred strong, are without discipline, or military regulation of any kind, and may be considered as a rabble.

The infantry consists of Rohillas, Boondeelchs, and Malwa Sebundys, who are armed with matchlocks.

The cavalry consists of Marhatta Mooffulmans from Cuttair, (Rohilcund) and from the Doo Ab.



The best troops in the interest of this chief are the cavalry of his associate Himmud Behaudur, the Ghossein; they are in number about two thousand, and are chosen men.

Himmud Behaudur has likewise a body of infantry, amounting to about three thousand. We may therefore compute the collected force of Ali Behaudur at twenty-one thousand, chiefly rabble, and incapable, says Mr. Thomas, of opposing a regular and disciplined force, though far inferior in point of numbers.

At the head of this rabble, these chiefs keep possession of a country capable of yielding a revenue of one crore of rupees.

Detail of the force of Ali Behaudur ;

four battalions, men	—	2,000
Irregular infantry ditto		6,000
Cavalry	— —	7,000
Artillery	— —	50

*Force of Himmut Behaudur.*

(In the service of Ali Behaudur.)

Irregular infantry	—	—	3,000
Cavalry	—	—	2,000
Artillery pieces	—	—	20

*Combined force of Ali Behaudur and Himmut Behaudur.*

Cavalry	—	—	9,000
Infantry,	—	—	11,000
To which may be added infantry attached to the guns	—	—	1,000
Grand total, men			21,000

Pieces of artillery	—	—	70
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*Present Force of Kashi Row Holkar, and**Jejjwunt Row Holkar.*

The cavalry of these two chiefs may be computed at thirty thousand, exclusive of the Pindaries or irregular horse. In this statement, made from information received from writers and soldiers in their service, who fel-

dom fail to add to the number, there may probably be some error. But it is certain that Jeffwunt Row Holkar is actually at the head of a body of cavalry amounting to twenty thousand men; Kashi Row Holkar has from four to five thousand cavalry at Indore, his capital; to which, if the cavalry of Amcer Khaun, a tributary, be added, as likewise that under the different collectors, the number will amount in the aggregate to thirty thousand. These chiefs occasionally receive the aid of from six to ten thousand Pindaries, a banditti who lay waste the countries through which they pass, by predatory warfare.

#### *Force in Infantry.*

Consisting of eight battalions computed at four hundred men per battalion,

Artillery men, —

3,200

Rohillas, —

600

10,000

**Total infantry 13,800**

Artillery pieces —

50

Holkar's cavalry are superior to those of Scindiah, being better officered, and more correspondent with the real Mahratta custom of predatory warfare.

The infantry (observes Mr. Thomas) are very bad. They are ill paid, badly officered, and without subordination; undisciplined, nor can they make use of their arms in action.

The Rohillas in Holkar's service are a faithless rabble, who will stand true only as long as they find it their interest; they are always ready to leave or ruin him, if not regularly paid; or when expected to move against an enemy of superior force; or if by any means they should have accumulated money.

*Detailed Statement of the collected Force of Kashī  
- Row Holkar, and Jeffwunt Row Holkar.*

Cavalry,	—	—	30,000
Pindaries or Looties, mounted on			
small horses,	—	—	10,000
			<hr/>
Total cavalry,			40,000

*Infantry.*

Eight battalions at four hundred men			
each,	—	—	3,200
Artillery men, &c.	—	—	600
Rohillas,	—	—	10,000

---

Total infantry, 13,100

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Artillery pieces, — — 60

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Grand total, 53,800

## APPENDIX IV.

*A general Abstract of the Countries, and their Inhabitants in the north-west parts of the Peninsula of Hindoostan; with the Distance of the capital Cities from Delhi in British Miles.*

1st. **T**HE Punjuab or country of the Seiks, is composed of the province of Lahore, and the chukla or division called Sirhind. The inhabitants in general are Seiks, though the cultivators of the soil are many of them Jauts.

Force. Cavalry 60,000. Artillery 40 pieces.  
Infantry 5,000. Revenue 5 crores.

Capital, Lahore, N. W. by N. three hundred miles.



2d. The Hurrianah country is included in the Sirkar of Hissar; it is called in the map the Lesser Baloochistaun. The inhabitants are chiefly Jauts, with the exception of a few Rajepoot, and Rungur villages, which last appellation is given to such of the Rajepoots who have embraced the Mahomedan religion. Does not Rungur imply coloured, or stained, or of mixed blood?

Capital, Hissar, W. N. W. one hundred and eight miles.

3d. The country called Tahneffar consists of the western parts of Tahneffar, Kernaul, Kythul, Panniput, Sefeedoo, Jeind, Kosohan, and Dehatarut. The inhabitants are chiefly Jauts, though some have become Seiks, and a few are Rajepoots, but of a low cast.

No particular capital.

4th. The Battee country; the chiefs of which are Rajepoot Moosfulmans; the common people are Jauts who have become Moosfulmans, and the cultivators of the soil are



termed Ryis, and are a peaceable inoffensive race.

Capital, Batnier, W. N. W. two hundred and nineteen miles.

5th. Beykaneer is governed by Rathore Rajepoots; the cultivators are Jauts.

Force. Cavalry 2,000. Artillery 30 pieces.  
Infantry 3,000. Revenue 5 lacks.

Capital, Beykaneer.

6th. The Jypoor country is governed by Rajepoots of the Kutchwa tribe; the cultivators are Jauts, Bremins and Meenas.

Cavalry 30,000. Artillery 40 pieces.  
Infantry 10,000. Revenue 60 lacks.

Capital Jypoor or Jynaghur, S. W. one hundred and fifty miles.

7th The Row Rajah is a Rathore Rajepoot;

the cultivators of his country are Jauts Mewattes, and Aheers, a savage tribe, approaching in their manners to the Jauts.

Cavalry	1,500.	Artillery	16 pieces.
Infantry	2,000.	Revenue	6 lacks.

Capital Alwur,\* S. W. by S. 90 miles.

\* This place, the fort of which is situated on the summit of a high hill, is thus described in a work published some years since by Elias Habesci, but better known to the English reader under the name of Count Gika. "The  
 " emperors had likewise kept Aloor, a country very fertile  
 " in mines, and not at a great distance from Mattra. On  
 " those mountains there is another distinct nation called  
 " Mina, whose most splendid quality is that they excel all  
 " others in stealing, and we are assured that they are the  
 " most dexterous pilferers of India. They are capable of  
 " carrying off a horse or a prisoner from the most vigilant  
 " guard. All these countries produce infinite quantities  
 " of cattle, in which their principal trade consists.

" The richest, most agreeable, and most commodious  
 " place in those parts is the plain or valley of Tannagasi,  
 " two leagues in length and one in breadth, which contains  
 " now seventeen mines that are opened, and as they are  
 " well explored, they may be reckoned to produce a crore  
 " of rupees annually. The province of Aloor is dependant  
 " on Jypoor, or should be. It is in general as fertile in  
 " mines as the other, and is rich; but the little province

8th. Joudpoor, whose ruler is called the Rhathore Rajah and Marwar Rajah. He is a

“ of Tannagasi, which is subject to Aloar, is really the  
“ most substantial part. Tannagasi lies at only four days  
“ small journies from Mattra. The capital and only town  
“ bears the same name. It is pretty large, trades considerably, and is situated at the foot of a mountain, on  
“ which there is a fort, with some pieces of artillery. In  
“ 1780 and 1781, a Frenchman commanding the artillery  
“ of Nadjifkan undermined this garrison; but it surrendered before the mine was sprung.

“ If the English chose to seize on Aloar and Tannagasi,  
“ their army, which I suppose to be encamped at Mattra,  
“ must march to Deeg in a single day. Proceeding thence  
“ they should leave Aloa ten English miles to the right:  
“ they would find no opposition hitherto. It is only at  
“ Sakmin Ghur that we find a fort, which commands the  
“ plain that leads to a pass on the road to Tannagasi. At  
“ that pass there is another small fort, and both together  
“ could not hold out twenty-four hours against an attack  
“ in form. Tannagasi is the terrestrial paradise of that  
“ country: it is there that decent employment would be  
“ found for two hundred individuals of the English nation;  
“ and, aided by two battalions, they would be enabled to  
“ explore peaceably all its mines, and make them produce  
“ sixty lacks of rupees, clear of all expences, in each year:  
“ but in the case two redoubts should be constructed on  
“ the two banks of the Jumna to protect the passage-boats  
“ for merchandize and minerals, they might send from  
“ Tannagasi, escorted by a company of the battalions that

Rhathore Rajepoot of the purest and most ancient blood of the Rajepoots. The cultivators are Jauts.

Cavalry	27,000.	Artillery	30 pieces.
Infantry	3,000.	Revenue	20 lacks.

Capital Joudpoor, S. W. by W. 350 miles.

9th. Karolee, whose Rajah is of the tribe of Rajepoot, called Jadoo. The cultivators are Jauts, Bramins, and Meenas.

Cavalry	6,000.	Artillery	12 pieces.
Infantry	2,000.	Revenue	5 lacks.

Capital Karolee, south 140 miles.

10th. The Kishen Ghur Rajah is of the tribe of Rhathore Rajepoots. The cultivators are Jauts.

"would be stationed there. From Mattra the goods might pass on to Futtty Ghur, or some other place on the Ganges, to be sent thence to a greater distance. The navigation of the Jumna as far as Allahabad might be attempted."—See Objects interesting to the English Nation, vol. ii. page 113 and 114, Calcutta edition, A. D. 1793.

Capital Kishen Ghur, S. W. by W. 200 miles.

11th. Oudipoor or Mewar, whose ruler is called likewise the Ranah of Chittore, from the celebrated fort of that name situated within his dominions. Consult Colonel Dow's History of Hindoostan. This prince is also called Urfee Rannah, which was assumed by one of his ancestors, and adopted by his successors. He is of the tribe called Sefodiah. The cultivators of Oudipoor are composed of Rajepoots, Jauts, Bramins, and Beils.

Cavalry	12,000
Infantry	6,000

Capital Oudipoor, S. W. 350 miles.,

12th. The principalities of Kota and Boondee, whose chiefs are of the Chohan tribe, and are likewise denominated Addah Rajepoots. The cultivators are Rajepoots, Jauts, Bramins, Beels, and other classes.

Force. Infantry	2,000
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Cavalry	3,000
Artillery	20 pieces.
Revenue	30 lacks.

Capital Kota and Boondce, S. W. 250 miles.

13th. The Burtpoor Rajah is a Jaut, the cultivators are chiefly Jauts.\*.

Force, Cavalry	1,000
Infantry	2,000
Artillery	20 pieces.
Revenue	15 lacks.

Capital Burtpoor, south 100 miles.

\* Of this singular tribe, the ingenious author of Objects interesting to the English Nation thus remarks:—"The Jattes derive their origin from a single head of a family, whose name was Ram-gee; he had thirty-four children, who gave him many grand-children, who all respected him as their father and prince. The eldest of the family in direct line has always been acknowledged as Ram-gee himself; they were cultivators; thence their attachment to agriculture. They remained in obscurity until the fall of the Mogul empire; they have seized on Agra, and extended their power as far as Siren, on the road to Lahore. Their chiefs resided at Agra with the title of Rajah's; the first of them that acquired reputation was named Jonas Sing; his successor's name was

“ Creten Sing, and that of the last chief was Naval Sing.  
“ Since this nation has been defeated by Nadjuf Khan,  
“ it has fallen into contempt and oblivion; for they  
“ have lost their conquests, and are now confined  
“ to Burtpoor, which is the capital of their little  
“ country; but it is very strong, its ditches are of a  
“ breadth more than is usual elsewhere, they are fifty-six  
“ feet deep, and are always filled with water that comes  
“ from a perennial spring. Their present chief, who now  
“ retains the title of Rajah, is called Rengit Sing, who is  
“ at the same time the chief of their religion, which is that  
“ of the Hindoos.”—See Objects interesting to the  
English Nation, vol. ii. p. 120 and 121.



## CONCLUSION.

IN the force above detailed, a statement of the militia of the country is not included ; their numbers are considerable, and they in fact constitute the chief support of their respective states.

Under the head revenue, that which is paid into the treasury of each prince is here designated ; the revenue arising from lands granted to the different chiefs in Jaiedad, is not included in any state, excepting in the Punjaub, as more fully explained in our account of that country.

By the artillery here mentioned, is only meant what is capable of being brought into the field, few of which are in good order ; some of the chiefs have a numerous artillery in their

forts, to which however they pay but little attention.

Considering the surprising fertility of soil, the abundance of all things necessary for the support of the inhabitants, and the internal riches of these countries, and their capability of improvement, as well in regard to commercial as political relations, it is matter of no small surprise to think they should for so long a time have remained almost unknown to the British nation in India; and that, after being sovereigns of so considerable a part of this extensive empire, we should now, for the first time, receive information, that the fairest part of the country is yet unknown to us.

This however is the fact, and it would appear that Great Britain might derive considerable advantages from a closer alliance and more intimate acquaintance with the countries in the interior parts of India; and more especially with the Rajepoot states. These countries, as well from the advantages of natural situation as from their immense internal

resources, would be able to form the strongest barrier against the entrance of our political rivals, the French, to the central parts of the peninsula, whenever a renewal of hostilities may induce the attempt.

POSTSCRIPT.

*The compiler of these Memoirs has particular pleasure in delivering to his readers a letter lately received from an Officer of rank in the service of Scindiah, respecting Mr. Thomas's character, and which comes in a manner more peculiarly appropriate, as being the genuine effusions of a liberal mind, and the honourable testimony of a gentleman who, though an enemy from necessity, has, for the sake of justice alone, paid the tribute which he thought due to Mr. Thomas's merits as a man and a soldier.*

DEAR SIR,

I AM happy to learn, from the public prints, that we are soon to have the pleasure of a life of the late George Thomas, from your pen; as he was a singular character, which deserves to be rescued from oblivion,

and as I was intimately acquainted with him, and was principally employed by General Perron, to persuade him to enter with his troops into the service of Scindia. Moreover being concerned in arranging the capitulation of Hansi, after he had the misfortune to lose his army, and in conducting him to the British frontier; if you think I can supply any facts, or offer any materials which might elucidate or add to the work, I shall be not only happy, but proud to contribute all in my power.

I had a sincere respect for his character; I regretted his misfortunes, and I did all in my power to obviate those misfortunes by my advice and my conduct; all my influence with General Perron was exerted to serve him, and I did every thing in my power to meliorate the severity of his misfortunes, after he had been unfortunate from the doubtful event of war; and I should be happy if I could afford the smallest matter towards the record of his fame. With some oddities, and many singularities, he was an uncommon character; and his exertion towards station, power, riches, and

glory, were still more uncommon; he was uncommonly ambitious, which was the principal cause that led to his ruin; he would be all or nothing. To serve under the orders of another was an inglorious dependance, in his estimation of things; and the distraction which then prevailed in Scindiah's government, offered an enticing field to display his courage and his abilities; for courage he possessed in an eminent degree; and he certainly had abilities, if a clear head, a solid judgment, and acute discernment, may be called by that name. Hoping you will pardon this intrusion, and view it in the light in which it is intended, to add my mite to transmit the name of George Thomas to posterity, suffer me to remain with esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

LEWIS F. SMITH.

*Burhanpore,  
18th July, 1803.*



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